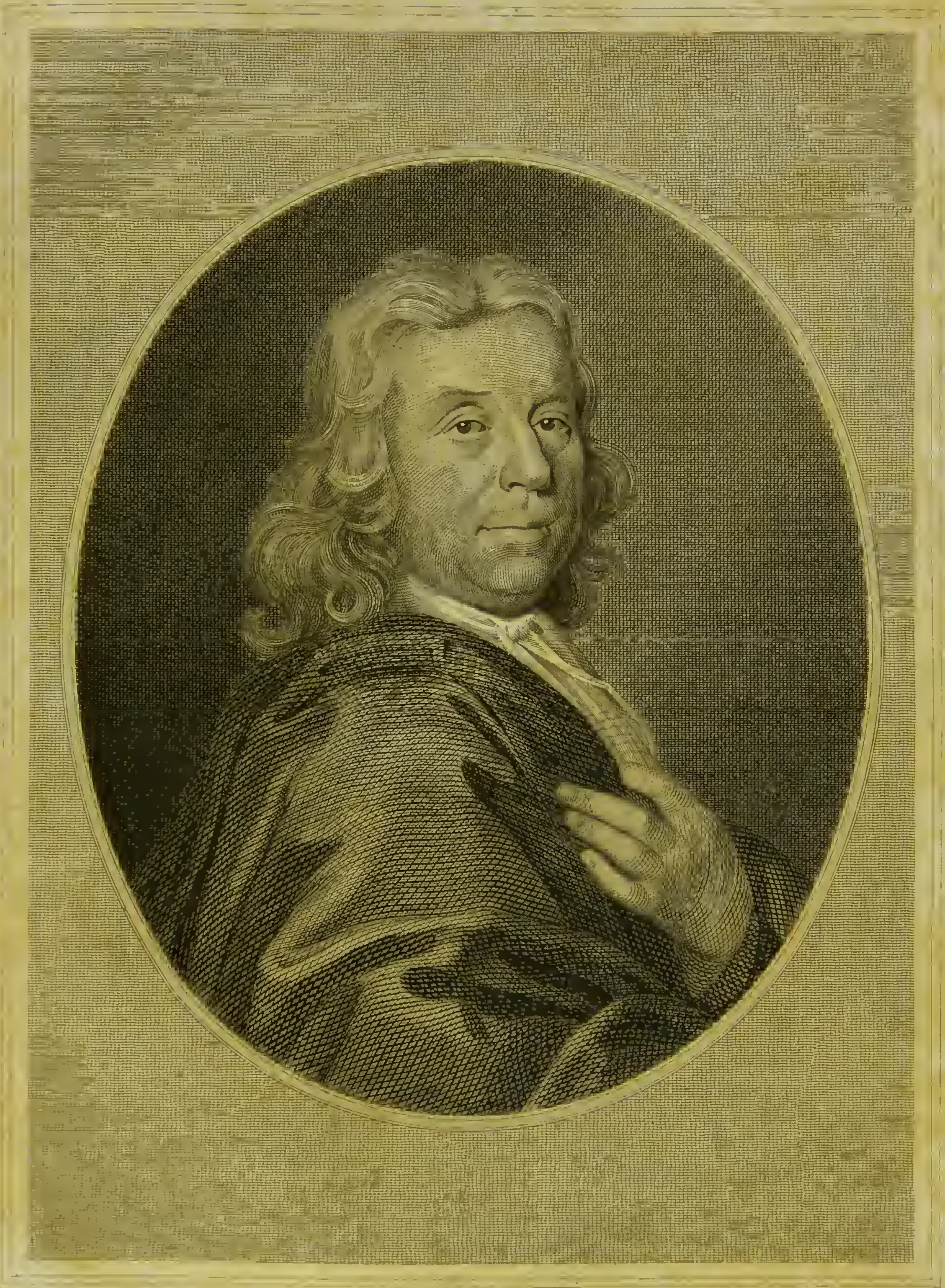

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CAPT. ROBT. KNOX

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THE

HISTORY OF CEYLON,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE YEAR MDCCCXV;

WITH

CHARACTERISTIC DETAILS OF THE RELIGION, LAWS, & MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE AND A COLLECTION OF THEIR MORAL MAXIMS & ANCIENT PROVERBS.

By PHILALETHES, A. M. Oxon.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

ROBERT KNOX'S

HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

HIS CAPTIVITY DURING A PERIOD OF NEAR TWENTY YEARS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A HEAD OF THE AUTHOR, WITH FIGURES, AND WITH A MAP OF THE ISLAND.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

The Island of Ceylon, though one of the most recent, is certainly amongst the most important, of the foreign possessions which are subject to the sovereignty of Great Britain. Whether we regard its internal resources, or its external relations, we shall find that it possesses singular advantages in a commercial, maritime, and political point of view. Its soil is rich beyond description, in almost every species of vegetable wealth; its forests abound with timber, fit for the construction of the most durable navy; its mountains, which have not yet been sufficiently explored, are believed to contain mineral treasures of the most valuable kind; and it is certain, that no country in the world can rival the fragrance of its cinnamon, and the beauty of its ivory.

But, whatever may be the wealth of Ceylon in vegetable, animal, or mineral products, in cinnamon, ivory, or precious stones, the circumstance, which renders the possession more particularly valuable to Great Britain, is the great facilities which it offers for the preservation of her naval superiority in that part of the world. The harbour of Trincomalée alone, is, in this point of view, an inestimable acquisition. Here, on the confines of a wide, perilous, and inhospitable ocean, the whole navy of Great Britain might ride in security, whilst the eastern monsoon was tempesting the neighbouring sea, spreading terror through the bay of Bengal, and covering with wreck the shores of the adjacent continent.

The Portuguese might covet the sovereignty of Ceylon, from the wide field which it offered for the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith; the Dutch might grasp at the possession with no less avidity, from its

inexhaustible supply of cinnamon and precious stones; but, in a political point of view, it must be more particularly valuable to Great Britain, from its tendency to perpetuate her maritime superiority in the East. But, at the same time, I trust that, in the wise councils and magnanimous policy of Great Britain, moral considerations will not be overlooked in the midst of great political views, and that she will make her sovereignty of Ceylon contribute to the increase of civilization, to the encouragement of knowledge, the diffusion of Christian benevolence, and the consequent augmentation of the general happiness.

In detached instances, and for short periods, national prosperity may seem to be independent of all regard to moral obligations; but, look at human affairs in any connected series, and for any long interval, and you will invariably find that prosperity vanishes as virtue decays. Injustice may, for a season, spread its branches far and wide, and, according to a scriptural comparison, flourish like a green bay tree; but the time of storms and darkness will come, when the object, which once delighted the eye, will vanish from the sight. No truism can be more true, than that honesty is the best policy, both with respect to the conduct of individuals, and to the administration of states.

The territorial sovereignty of India may, hereafter, be wrested from this country, in the fluctuations of dominion, to which that part of the world has always been more particularly liable; but, whenever this catastrophe may occur, still the possession of Ceylon will, in a commercial and maritime point of view, be no inadequate compensation for the loss. For as commercial superiority must always be associated with that of maritime preponderance, and as the sovereignty of Ceylon must secure that preponderance in the great Indian Sea, the loss of our Indian commerce would not follow that of the territorial sovereignty. As long as we possess that great naval power in the west, which is likely to be coeval with our present free government, the harbour of Trincomalée will, more than any thing else, favour the permanence of the same

power in the East. The dominion of the land may be more gratifying to the thirst of military distinction, but it is the dominion of the sea, which alone can afford security to commercial enterprise.

The wealth of nations may arise out of the soil; but of what little comparative importance is this wealth, without the facility of commercial exchange? or what can afford facilities to the prosecution of that commercial exchange by which nations are most enriched, equal to the dominion of the sea? The vital interests of Great Britain, in a national point of view, are principally concentrated in her maritime greatness; and they must, consequently, be more or less intimately combined with the sovereignty of this favoured isle.

The antient fables of the Singalese represent their country as having been first governed by a descendant of the sun; and I cannot but express a hope, that the wisdom, the justice, and the humanity of Great Britain, in the exercise of her sovereignty over Ceylon, may render that country, in modern times, what she might once have been in more ancient, the centre of a moral and intellectual light, which may scatter its beneficent rays over the whole East.

Ceylon offers the most auspicious theatre, and the most favourable opportunities for the gradual emancipation of the people from that state of degradation in which they are kept by the institution of casts. The institution of casts is the most formidable engine which was ever devised for perpetuating the subjugation of man; for sacrificing the many to the pride of a few; for keeping down the growth of the intellectual faculties, and for repressing the free expansion of all the social sympathies. It renders vain and abortive that germ of genius, which the great Father of all intelligence often imparts to particular individuals. It makes all mental culture impossible, except in a mode determined not by the ruling propensity of the person, but by the unalterable decrees of

the state. It opposes an insuperable obstacle to the exercise of the active powers, which must be most successful where it arises out of preference, and concentrates most volition in the production of the desired effect. For the wisest purposes, and the most glorious ends, the Father of spirits has implanted in the bosom of every individual a desire to better his condition, and to add to his stock of enjoyment; but the elastic energy of this principle is relaxed and enervated by the institution of casts, which is equally at variance with the laws of God and with the welfare of man. But if, by the gradual operation of some discreet, rational, and benevolent system, this institution of casts could be abolished in Ceylon, the effect of the example must, sooner or later, diffuse itself over the continent of India. The great and solid chain can only be broken by degrees; but, if we can snap some of the links, the force of the whole will be diminished, till, in the course of ages, it will crumble into dust.

Whilst the Portuguese regarded Ceylon as a field that was highly propitious for the dissemination of the Roman Catholic faith, they disregarded the means in the prosecution of the end. Falsehood, injustice, and inhumanity, were practised, in order to plant the cross upon the ruins of the pagoda; but there are principles in human nature, which happily set limits to the operations of bigotry and ambition, and which cannot long be violated with impunity. The bigotry and oppression of the Portuguese missionaries, only added fresh fuel and increased constancy to the worshippers of Brahma and of Boodh.

The Dutch, actuated rather by the narrow parsimony and sordid selfishness of retail traders, than by the enlarged views and generous principles of great merchants, did not sufficiently consider, that the most efficacious means of securing their commercial aggrandizement would be by improving the condition of the natives, and by furthering their advances in knowledge, industry, and the refinements of civilized life. It

would, perhaps, not be easy to determine, whether the people of Ceylon had more reason to execrate the insensate cupidity of the Dutch traders, or the ferocious bigotry of the Portuguese priests.

The example of what has happened to the Portuguese on the one hand, and to the Dutch on the other, ought to operate as a strong incentive to us, to pursue a more liberal and enlightened policy; which, whilst it is more conducive to the good of the Singalese, must at the same time be more advantageous to ourselves. In the intercourse between a sovereign country and her colonies, all benefits must be ultimately reciprocal. Their good must be the good of communion. In the conduct of states, as well as in that of individuals, there is no reaction so speedy, or so efficacious, as that of benefits.

As one who has often revolved, and humbly adored, the awfully-instructive administration of the moral world, I am deeply convinced that the cabinet of Great Britain will find it their safest policy, and their highest wisdom, to make the people of Ceylon experience the blessings of a government at once just, gentle, and beneficent. Under such a government, all the productive powers of the country will be augmented in an indefinite degree; and in those regions of Candy, which despotism rendered a wilderness, swarming with reptiles and wild beasts, or peopled only with a few half-famished and sickly individuals, the desert will be cleared, and the inhabitants be multiplied. Plenty will gratify the beholder at every turn, and health smile at every door.

Considered merely in a commercial point of view, the foreign possessions of Great Britain form beneficial ramifications of intercourse, through which her industry circulates, and by which her prosperity is increased; but, when we get upon higher ground, and, as philosophers or moralists, contemplate the subordination of one people, or kingdom, to another, we cannot but think it an imperious duty in the country,

where the supreme power resides, to improve its various dependencies, not only in the arts, which add to the comfort, or contribute to the elegance of human life, but in that intellectual culture which, by elevating man in the scale of reason, exalts him in that of virtue and of happiness.

In delineating the History of Ceylon, I have endeavoured to render it as full and complete as the materials to which I could obtain access would permit; but I have never sacrificed truth to ornament, or blended it with any unauthorized addition of circumstances. I have not omitted the more early annals of the country, though they were barren of events, and little susceptible of interest; but I thought it right that the reader should be put in possession of all that is, or probably can be, known of those obscure periods, where tradition has supplied the place of regular records, and fiction has been busy in mutilating, in transforming, or in decorating truth.

Even national fables, though they are violations of truth, are often histories of manners and opinions. The records of credulity are far from being destitute of instruction. They occupy a large and prominent space in the history of the human mind; and though they may sometimes weary by insipidity, or disgust by exaggeration, they will often edify by moral inference, or amuse by ingenious combinations. The great Dutch work of Valentyn, the long concealed merits of which I have studiously laboured to bring to light in the course of the present history, has enabled me to exhibit a full and faithful picture of the mythological system and religious doctrines of the Singalese.

Ceylon appears to have been the early cradle of Boodhism, and was probably the point from which the doctrines of Boodh, which were anterior to those of the Brahmins, were diffused over a large part of the continent of India, from which, though they have been partially expelled, they have never been totally exterminated. They may not flourish

as they once did on the banks of the Ganges, but they still occupy the kingdom of Siam, and the empire of the Birmans.

I have given only a very imperfect sketch of the natural history of the country, as my principal object was to make the reader acquainted with the civil and military transactions, the religion and manners of the people. The political, moral, and intellectual history of man, with all his deflections from virtue and all his aberrations from truth, is an object of higher interest and more general concernment, than any technical classification, or scientific description of quadrupeds and plants. Let me not therefore be condemned for not executing what I never designed to undertake, and never attempted to accomplish.

The moral maxims and antient proverbs of the Singalese, of which I have inserted a respectable collection in the present volume, will interest all descriptions of readers; for they contain truths, of that unvarying and permanent nature, which will touch some chord of sympathy in every breast. Among these proverbial sayings, there are many which penetrate the recesses of the human heart, and address themselves to those common sentiments, which constitute an indissoluble link of affinity amongst the scattered members of the human race. They prove that we are all parts of one moral scheme, which extends from pole to pole, and from earth to heaven.

PHILALETHES.

H. W. B.
November 13, 1816.

POSTSCRIPT.

In addition to the present history, the reader will find in this volume a republication of ROBERT KNOX's "Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon," with an account of his captivity during a period of nearly twenty years. This work had become so scarce, and

has been so much in request since the possession of the Island by the English, that a new edition was requisite to gratify the demands of an increasing curiosity. Of Knox's work the merit is so well known, and has been so generally acknowledged, that it is superfluous to expatiate in its praise. His narrative exhibits a lively picture of the state of the country and the manners of the people; and the account, which he has given of what relates more immediately to himself, and particularly of his extraordinary escape from such a vigilant enemy, and in such difficult circumstances, combines the accurate details of a real transaction with the glowing interest of a romance.

PHILALETHES.

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THE

HISTORY OF CEYLON,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1815;

WHEN

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE WHOLE ISLAND WAS CEDED TO THE

BRITISH CROWN:

WITH

CHARACTERISTIC DETAILS

OF THE

RELIGION, LAWS, AND MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE;

Topographical Notices;

AND A

COLLECTION OF MORAL MAXIMS AND ANCIENT PROVERBS.

By PHILALETHES, A.M. Oxon.

THE

HISTORY OF CEYLON.

CHAP. I.

Early Notices of Ceylon in Classical Writers—Arrian, Dionysius the Geographer, Ovid, Ptolemy, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus. Cinnamon not mentioned by these and other ancient Authors as the Production of Ceylon. The commercial Importance of Ceylon in the sixth Century, described by Cosma Indicopleustes. Ceylon visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth, by Sir John Maundevile in the fourteenth Century.

THE first information respecting the Island of Ceylon, or Taprobane, as it is usually denominated in ancient writers, was brought into Europe by Nearchus and Onesicritus,* who were commanders of the fleet which Alexander dispatched from the Indus to the Persian Gulph. Gibbon remarks,† that the early geographers, and even Ptolemy, were so imperfectly acquainted with this remote region, that they "magnified above fifteen times the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator and the neighbourhood of China." Dionysius, the geographer, mentions Taprobane as famed for its breed of elephants.

Μητερα Ταπροβανην Ασιηγενεων ελεφαντων.
v. 593.

* Arrian (de expedit. Alexand. lib. vi. p. 381, ed. Blancard. Amstel. 1668,) says that Onesicritus, in the account which he wrote of Alexander's expedition, falsely claimed the honour of having had the chief command of the fleet, as he only directed the helm of the ship in which Alexander himself sailed.

† Vol. iv. 8vo. p. 142.

Ovid has the following mention of Taprobane, as a part of the world removed almost beyond the limits of human intercourse; to which, he asks, of what advantage it could be for his fame to reach?

> Quid tibi, si calida, prosit, laudere Syene
> Aut ubi *Taprobanen* Indica cingit aqua.
>
> Pont. El. 5. l. 79.

In the time of Ptolemy the island was called Σαλικὴ, and the inhabitants Σάλαι. Hence we discern the origin of the modern name of Seylan, or Ceylon. The Arabians add to this name a termination, signifying island, Seylan-Dive, or Silendib.

Pliny* says that Taprobane was long supposed to be another continent, "alterum orbem terrarum;" and that it was not clearly known to be an island till the age of Alexander. He tells us, that Onesicritus had celebrated its elephants above those of India, on account of their greater bulk, and their more warlike properties; and that Eratosthenes had extolled the purity of its gold, and the size of its pearls.

Those who make this voyage, says Pliny,† cannot conduct their course by the observation of the stars, for the north pole is no longer visible to the eye. But the mariners, according to an ancient practice, carried birds in the vessel, which they set at liberty at intervals, in order to mark the direction they pursued to the land.

An accidental occurrence, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius,‡ contributed to make the Romans more acquainted with the Island of Ceylon, and to increase their intercourse with that part of the world.

* Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 29. Pomponius Mela says, "Taprobane aut grandis admodum insula, aut prima pars orbis alterius Hipparcho dicitur;" that Hipparchus thought it either a very large island, or the commencement of a new continent.

† "Syderum in navigando nulla observatio."

‡ Claudius began his reign in 41, and died in 54.

One Annius Plocamus, a freedman, who farmed the customs in the Red Sea, having being blown in a violent tempest "off the coast of Arabia," was unexpectedly driven, after a passage of fifteen days, to the port of Hippuros, in the Island of Taprobane. Here he was kindly received by the king of the country, whose hospitality he experienced during a period of six months. In this interval, this European visitant had ample leisure to make the Ceylonese monarch fully acquainted with the majesty of Rome. He accordingly dispatched an embassy, consisting of four persons, to the imperial city.

These ambassadors from Ceylon gave, in some measure, an erroneous account of the island, or one that was rendered erroneous by the mistakes of Roman interpreters. They said that their country contained five hundred towns; that in Palæsimundo, which is represented as the capital, the palace alone could boast 200,000 inhabitants; that they had commercial dealings with the Seres (by some supposed Chinese), whom they described as men of gigantic size, with red hair, blue eyes, a shrill and piercing voice, and a language which they did not understand. They represented their traffic with the Seres to be conducted in much the same manner as the ancient commercial intercourse between the Phœnicians and the Britons, in which each party deposited in a certain place the goods which they designed to exchange, and which one relinquished to the other, when a satisfactory equivalent had been reciprocally obtained. But, says Pliny, though Taprobane is so far removed from the Roman world, still it is not free from the vices of Rome. Gold and silver are there objects of cupidity. They have variegated marble, jewels and pearls, which are of great beauty and in high esteem.

The ambassadors from Ceylon represented their wealth to be greater than that of the Romans, but said that the Romans turned theirs to more use. They mentioned that no one among them had any slaves. They did not take any repose after sun-rise, or during the day. Their houses were of moderate height. Provisions were never at an extravagant

price; and they were free from the evils of judicial strife. For a king, they chose from amongst the people one, who was venerable for his years and his humanity; and who was without a family. But, if he should happen to have children, they compelled him to resign the sovereignty, lest the kingdom should become hereditary. The sovereign had a council of thirty persons assigned him by the people; and no one could be condemned to death except by a plurality of their suffrages. But the person, thus condemned, had a power of appeal from their sentence to the people; who, in that case, appointed seventy other judges to try the cause; and, if they acquitted the accused, the former thirty, by whom he had been condemned, were immediately disgraced, and never afterwards held in any estimation. If the king committed any outrage against his duty as a sovereign, he was condemned to suffer, not by the hand of violence, but by the universal detestation which he experienced. Every individual avoided his company; and he was left to perish in silence and in solitude. Their festivals were devoted to the chace; and they delighted most in that of the tiger and the elephant. Their fields were in a high state of cultivation. They had no grapes, but abundance of apples; and it was not uncommon for them to attain the age of one hundred years.*

If that part of the above account, which relates to the political state of Ceylon, be not entirely fabulous, it proves that the government of that island was formerly more free than it is at present, or has long been. But the statement of Pliny shews a greater degree of civil liberty, a greater regard for popular rights, and principles more adverse to the abuse of sovereign power, than perhaps ever existed in any of the regions of the East.

In the account of this island, which is found in Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. there seems nearly an equal mixture of fable and of truth. He de-

* See Pliny ut sup.

scribes the inhabitants as characterized by an extraordinary longevity. and as little subject to disease.* He says that they have a severe law, according to which they put to death those who are mutilated, or labour under corporeal deformity. But, what is more remarkable, he adds, that they had a law to limit the duration of life; and that those, who had attained this period, took their leave of existence by a voluntary, but uncommon death. The country produced a plant, on which he who fell asleep expired without a struggle or a sigh.† The same historian relates, that the inhabitants of this island had a community of wives; that they regarded their children as a common stock, without any of the feeling of parental preference; and that the children were interchanged in their infancy, so that even mothers could not recognize their own.

The climate, though under the equinoctial line, is mentioned as so temperate, that the inhabitants are molested neither by the heat nor by the cold; and their fruits are said to ripen during the whole year. Thus, says the author, according to the poet—

Here clustring grapes and luscious figs appear,
With pears and apples, through the smiling year.‡

It is not a little remarkable that, in the ancient accounts of Ceylon, cinnamon, for which it is at present so celebrated, is never mentioned amongst its valuable products.§ Strabo || speaks of Taprobane as sup-

* Πολυχρονιους δ' ειναι τους ανθρωπους καθ' υπερβολην, ως αν αχρι των πεντεχοντα και εκατον ετων ζωντας, και γινομενες ανοσους κατα το πλειστον. Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 163. Ed. Bipont.

† Εφ ἧς οταν τις κοιμηθῃ, και προσηνως προς υπνον κατενεχθεις αποθνησκει.

‡ Οχνη επ' οχνῃ γηρασκει, μηλον δ' επι μηλῳ
Αυταρ επι σταφυλῃ σταφυλη, συκον δ' επι συκῳ.

§ The account which Herodotus gives of this fragrant spice, lib. iii. c. iii. is well known. He mentions it as collected by the Arabs, who knew nothing of the country in which it was produced, except that it came from some of the regions of India. He gives an account of its having been used by birds in the construction of their nests, of which they were afterwards despoiled by strata-

|| Lib. ii. p. 72. ed. 1620.

plying the Indian markets with large quantities of ivory, tortoise-shell, and other commodities; but cinnamon is not enumerated amongst the rest; though it could hardly have been omitted, if the country, which he mentions under the name of Taprobane, were the same as the modern Ceylon, and if that island were, in his time, as famed for the growth of that species of aromatic as it has since been. When the accurate geographer mentions Taprobane with a little more particularity in another place,* he speaks of its breed of elephants, but says nothing of its cinnamon. A very acute historian asks whether cinnamon, instead of being the aboriginal growth of Ceylon, were not subsequently naturalized in that island, as cloves were in Amboyna?†

In the sixth century Ceylon had become the chief seat‡ of the commerce of the Indian Ocean. Vessels entered its ports from the most remote parts of the East; and the merchants of Ceylon, in their turn, were not deficient in commercial enterprise. From China, called Tzinitza, they received "silk, aloes, cloves, the wood of cloves, sandal wood,

gem, which it is superfluous to relate. Herodotus speaks of the name, cinnamon, as derived from the Phœnicians.

The Persians, says a Dutch writer,* call this spice Dar-Cin, that is, Chinese wood; as the Chinese were the first who brought this and other eastern products to the Persian Gulph, from whence it was conveyed into Europe. Hence some supposed that Dar-Cin meant a Chinese tree; and that the bark of the cinnamon was one of the native products of China. As the Greeks procured cinnamon from the Arabian merchants who traded in the Red Sea, they, without farther inquiry, supposed it an Arabian product; and that it grew in the country of the people from whom they received it. In his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, Arrian mentions pearls and precious stones, calico or muslin, and tortoise-shell, as commodities for which Taprobane was celebrated; but he says nothing of its cinnamon. Arrian. Blancardi, p. 176.

* P. 690.

† Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 149.

‡ Ibid. p. 225. The work of Macpherson, to which I refer, is full of valuable information.

* Valentyn. Vol. V. p. 17. I have given some account of his great Dutch work on the East Indies in a note to the next chapter.

and other articles; from Male *(Malabar)* they imported pepper; from Calliena, now a place of great trade, copper, wood of sesame, like ebony, and a variety of stuffs; and from Sindu, musk, castoreum, and spikenard. All these articles, together with some spiceries,* and the hyacinths, for which the island was famous, were exported to every shore of the Indian Ocean. The Persian traders to Sielediv (Ceylon) appear to have been very numerous, since there was a church erected for them, the clergy of which received ordination in Persia. A principal part of their cargoes consisted of Persian horses for the use of the king."

These commercial particulars may be found in the account of Cosmas Indicopleustes, which, as Dr. Robertson remarks,† is the last which the

* But there is no mention of cinnamon as one of the products of Ceylon.

† Works, Vol. XII. ed. 1812, p. 131. Cosmas was an Egyptian merchant in the time of Justinian, who acquired the name of Indicopleustes from the voyages which he made to India. He turned monk in the latter period of his life. He calls Ceylon by the name of Sielediba. Though no information respecting Ceylon appears, according to Dr. Robertson, to have been received in Europe from the period abovementioned till the thirteenth century, still I cannot refrain from laying before the reader a short description of this island, which is found in "An Account of the Travels of Two Mohammedans through India and China in the ninth Century." This work did not make its appearance in any European language till the year 1718, when a French translation of it was published from the original Arabic by the learned Abbé Renaudot. The original appears to have been written about the middle of the ninth century. The following is what the two Mohammedan travellers say of the Island of Ceylon, as the reader may see in Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 521, and in Pinkerton's more recent work of the same kind, Vol. VII. p. 179. "Beyond these islands (the Maldives), in the sea of Herkena (about the Maldives), is Serendib, or Ceylon, the chief of all those islands which are called Dobijat. It is all compassed by the sea, and on its coast they fish for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called Rahun, to the top of which it is thought Adam ascended and there left the print of his foot in a rock, which is seventy cubits in length; and they say that Adam at the same time stood with his other foot in the sea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, of opals, and amethysts. This island, which is of great extent, has two kings; and here are found lignum aloes, gold, precious stones, and pearls, which are fished for on the coast; as also a kind of large shells, which they use instead of trumpets, and are much valued. The inhabitants here have cocoa-nut trees which supply them with food, and therewith also they paint their bodies and oil themselves. The custom of the country is that no one

nations of the west received from any person who had visited that country till the thirteenth century, when the avidity of commerce began to awaken the spirit of curiosity, and the human mind, after the torpor of ages, was gradually roused into renovated activity.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century Ceylon was visited by Marco Polo, a Venetian, on his return to Europe from his long and celebrated travels. Marco Polo has justly been styled the Columbus of the East, as he was the first European who ever saw, or at least made

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may marry till he has slain an enemy in battle and brought off his head. If he has killed two he claims two wives; and if he has slain fifty he may marry fifty wives. This custom proceeds from the number of enemies which surround them; so that he amongst them who kills the greatest number, is the most considered."——"When a king dies in this Island of Serendib, they lay his body on an open chariot, in such a manner that his head hangs backwards till it almost touches the ground, and his hair is upon the earth; and this chariot is followed by a woman with a broom in her hand, there-with to sweep dust on the face of the deceased, while she cries out with a loud voice, 'O man, behold your king, who was yesterday your master, but now the empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone; he is reduced to the state you behold, having left the world, and the arbiter of death hath withdrawn his soul; reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain hopes of life.' This proclamation, or some other like it, they continue for three days; after which the dead body of the king is embalmed with sandal wood, camphire, and saffron, and is then burned, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the wind."——"The king of this island makes laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; here are doctors and assemblies of learned men, like those of the Hadithis among the Arabs. The Indians repair to these assemblies and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expositions of their laws."——"In this same island there is a very great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Tanouis, or Manichees, the king permitting the free exercise of every religion."——"Gaming is the usual diversion of the inhabitants here; they play at draughts, and their principal pastime of cocks, which are very large in this country, and better provided with spurs than cocks usually are." These travellers add, that the Singalese are so addicted to these pastimes, if so they may be called, that they will stake upon them all that they are worth; and that, when that is gone, they will "often play for the ends of their fingers." When they play, it is said that they have a hatchet placed ready for chopping off each other's fingers, which operation the winner resolutely performs and the loser patiently bears. Some of them gamble in this manner with so much frantic pertinacity, that before they part they have all their fingers mutilated.

known, the sea beyond China.* He left Venice in his way to Asia at the end of 1271, or the beginning of the following year; and he did not return till 1295. He passed the greater part of this long period at the court of Kublay, the great Khan of Tartary, on the frontiers of China. His father and uncle had previously spent many years in the dominions of the same sovereign; and on their return they took with them young Marco, who was then about nineteen years of age. Marco soon acquired the confidence of the khan, and was employed by him on several missions of great importance to the most distant provinces of his mighty empire. Marco diligently availed himself of these favourable opportunities to become acquainted with the productions and manners of the countries through which he passed; and, though he was formerly accused of exaggeration and fiction, yet subsequent research and the observation of later travellers have confirmed the general accuracy of his narrative. Tiraboschi,† with his usual candour, has vindicated his character, and paid a just tribute of praise to his veracity.

* See Harris's complete Collection of Voyages, 2 vols. folio, London, 1744, Vol. I. Modern Universal History, London, 1781, Vol. VIII. p. 16.

† Tiraboschi Storia della letteratura Italiana, Florence, 1806. Tomo IV. Parte I. p. 86—105. This admirable historian proves that many of the errors and inconsistencies, which have been censured in the works of Marco, may justly be imputed to those who transcribed his MSS.; as there are great diversities in the different copies. There was for some time a warm dispute whether the original was written in Latin or Italian; but Tiraboschi seems to have set this question at rest, and to have proved that it was composed in the dialect which was spoken at Venice in the thirteenth century. It was first printed at Venice in 1496; and afterwards inserted by Ramusio in his Collection of Voyages and Travels in 1559. Struvius, in his Bibliotheca Historica, Vol. I. p. 9. Lips. 1784, speaks thus of this celebrated traveller:—"Magnam Asiæ partem Mungalorum principi Kublai sive Hu-pi-lai serviens, peragravit, fideque singulari et candore quæ vidit audivitque, retulit. Partem in primis orientalem Asiæ accuratius, quam antea Europæi e Pauli itinerario cognoverunt. Insunt quidem et fabulæ; ideoque olim opus, quasi fictionibus rebusque anilibus scatens, contemnebatur: at salva est ejus præstantia atque integritas. Multa etiam oscitantiæ librariorum sunt tribuenda. Codices enim mirum in modum inter se discrepant."—Dr. Robertson has commended Marco Polo for the accuracy of his information and the fidelity of his descriptions, though he remarks, that some of his contemporaries gave him the name of *Messer Marco Millioni*, owing to the accounts which he gave of the numerous armies and immense revenues of the eastern princes. Vol. XII. p. 342—4.

Dr. Robertson,* speaking of Marco Polo, says, "He describes the great kingdom of Cathay, the name by which China is still known in many parts of the East, and travelled through it from Chimbalu or Peking, on its northern frontier, to some of its most southern provinces. He visited different parts of Indostan, and is the first who mentions Bengal and Guzzerat by their present names as great and opulent kingdoms. Besides what he discovered on his journies by land, he made more than one voyage in the Indian Ocean, and acquired some information concerning an island which he calls Zipangri or Cipango, probably Japan. He visited in person Java, Sumatra, and several islands contiguous to them, the Island of Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar as far as the Gulph of Cambay, to all which he gives the names that they now bear. This was the most extensive survey hitherto made of the East, and the most complete description of it ever given by any European; and in an age which had hardly any knowledge of those regions, but what was derived from the geography of Ptolemy, not only the Venetians, but all the people of Europe, were astonished at the discovery of immense countries open to their view, beyond what had hitherto been reputed the utmost boundary of the earth in that quarter."

Marco Polo says of Ceylon, that "it is the finest island in the world; the king is called Sendernaz; the men and women are idolaters, go naked, save that they cover their loins with a cloth; have no corn but rice, and oil of sesamino, milk, flesh, wine of trees, abundance of brasil, the best rubies in the world, sapphires and amethysts, and other gems. The king is said to have the very finest ruby that was ever seen, as long as one's hand and as big as a man's arm, without spot, shining like a fire, and not to be bought for money.† Cublai-Khan sent and

* Works, Vol. XII. p. 132.

† In his fifth volume, p. 352, Valentyn mentions the escape of two Englishmen, after a captivity of twenty-two years, from the capital of Candy to the Dutch fortress of Sitavaca, one of whom relates that he had seen a ruby that had been found by a peasant, which was of such immense size, that for some time he had in his simplicity used it for a whetstone without knowing what it was.

offered the value of a city for it, but the king answered, he would not give it for the treasure of the world, nor part with it, because it was his ancestors. The men are unfit for soldiers, and hire others when they have occasion."*

About half a century after Marco Polo, Ceylon was visited by Sir John Maundevile, who was a native of St. Alban's in this country. His work was first published in quarto in 1588, under the title of "The Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Knight, which treateth of the Way to Hierusalem and Marvayles of Inde," &c. A more complete edition appeared in 1727 in octavo. The author appears to have been better informed than preceding travellers respecting the dimensions of the island, the circumference of which he states at eight hundred miles, which is not far from the truth. He mentions that it contained a large portion of wilderness, and was infested by serpents, crocodiles, and wild beasts. He does not omit to notice its gigantic progeny of elephants; nor does he forget the celebrated mountain where Adam and Eve, after they were driven out of Paradise, wept for a hundred years, till they filled a lake with the effusions of their remorse. He adds, that the king was appointed by election, and that the island had two summers, two winters, and two harvests in a year.

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 621. In another place Marco Polo mentions that a number of pilgrims from remote parts visited Adam's Peak, where some holy reliques were preserved of this great ancestor of mankind, consisting of his fore-teeth and one of his dishes. In the year 1281 the great Khan of Tartary sent an embassy to Ceylon, who were fortunate enough to succeed in obtaining from the king of the island two of the abovementioned teeth, the dish, and a lock of Adam's hair.

CHAP. II.

Singalese History from the earliest Period, as it is represented in their own Annals and Traditions. Vigea Raja, descended from the Sovereign of Tanassery, arrives in Ceylon, and founds the Dynasty of Singalese Emperors. His extraordinary Descent and high Pretensions. Vigea Raja, extraordinary Prediction respecting the Fate of his Daughter. Curious Precautions of the King to prevent the Accomplishment. The Princess escapes from her Place of Confinement. Her singular Adventures in a Forest. Is delivered of Twins, a Son and a Daughter. The Son learns the Story of his Birth. Some Feats of his early Life; marries his Sister; is raised to the Crown. Irregularities of his Two eldest Sons, whom he expels the Kingdom. They build a Town. The eldest Son marries a Daughter of the King of Madura, Tissanaon Ameti. Simit Comara. Pandu Vassaja marries a refugee Princess. Her Six Brothers hospitably received in Ceylon. Abeia Comara. Saguganatissa. Digagamonu. Pandu Cabaja puts his Nine Uncles to Death, builds Towns, and forms Rice-grounds. Muta Singa Raja. Deveni Petissa Maharaja erects numerous Pagodas, entertains eight princely Visitants. Suratissanam. Two Malabar Missionaries usurp the Government. Assalanam Raja puts them to Death, and is himself put to Death after a Reign of Fourteen Years by Etalanam Raja, who reigns for Forty-four Years. Gilinitissa Raja. Goluumbera. Ganatissa Raja. Some Nobles govern the Land in his Name for Thirty Years after his Death. Dutugeinunu Maha Raja performs great Feats upon his Elephant against the invading Malabars. Sedetissa Raja. Tullenam Raja. Lemenetissa Raja. Caluman Raja. Walagam Bahu Raja. The Island subjected to the Sway of Five Malabar Chiefs. Chonanga Raja. Bemminitissa. Maha Deliatissa. Chorawa humbles the Nobles, who put him to Death. Cuda Tissa Raja. Anularam Bisava Culavon. Tomo. Malutantissa; Excellence of his Government. Batia Raja. Madilimanna Raja, a royal Devotee. Adague Muwene Raja; permits no capital Punishment during his Reign. Cada Ambera Raja. Nalabissava. Elunna Raja. Sandamuhunu Raja. Asnapa Raja forms numerous

Rice-grounds and improves the Country. Vacnelisinam Raja. Bapa Raja; vast Strength of his Son Gaja Bahu Comara.

THE notices respecting Ceylon which have been preserved in the Greek and Roman writers are very vague and uncertain, and at the best furnish but little information. If the account which the Singalese themselves give of the early state and primary inhabitants of their island be sometimes fabulous and often inaccurate, it at least contains more varied details and more amusing combinations. The Singalese possess some written and some traditionary narratives of their primitive history, which have been preserved for many ages, and which are not undeserving the attention of the curious. Even in those instances in which these accounts appear to be only a tissue of fables, such fables will often be found to be only a veil thrown over real facts; and, at any rate, they will serve to throw some light on the genius and opinions of the people. In the three subsequent chapters I shall exclusively follow the authority of Valentyn in his famous work* on the East Indies, which is but

* The following is the title of Valentyn's work:—Keurlyke beschryving van Choromandel, Pegu, Arrakan, Bengale, Mocha, van 't Nederlandsch comptoir in Persien; en eenige fraaje zaaken van Persepolis overblyfzelen. Een nette beschryving van Malaka, 't Nederlands comptoir op 't Eiland Sumatra, mitsgaders een wydluftige landbeschryving van 't Eiland Ceylon, en een net verhaal van des zelfs keizeren, en zaaken, van ouds hier voergevollen; als ook van 't Nederlands comptoir op de kust van Malabar, en van onzen handel in Japan, en eindelyk een beschryving van Kaap der Goede Hoope, en't Eiland Mauritius, met de zaaken tot alle de voornoemde ryken en landen behoorende. Met veele Prentverbeeldingen en landkaarten opgebeldert. Door François Valentyn, Onlangs Bedienaar des Goddelyken woords in Amboina, Banda enz. Te Amsterdam by Gerard Onder de Linden, 1726.

This work is in five very large volumes in folio, and contains many hundred copper plates. The whole is written in the Dutch language, and it has never been translated, though there is no book extant which contains such a mass of valuable information respecting the parts of the world of which it treats. The knowledge of it, however, appears to be very circumscribed; and Pinkerton, who truly calls it an "inestimable work," speaks of it as "a treasure locked up in a chest, of which few have the key." See Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, Vol. XI. p. 263. In the Bibliotheca Historica of Struvius, enlarged by Meuselius, Lipsiæ, 1785, Vol. II. p. 371, the following mention is made of this noble production of Valentyn: "Opus hocce carum æque ac rarum est dignissi-

very little known either in this country, or on the Continent, but which probably contains a mass of more valuable matter on the subjects of which it treats, than any other publication which has hitherto appeared.

The earliest traditionary accounts of the Singalese represent the people on both sides of the Ganges as living without laws or government, order or decency, in woods and caves, and, like inferior animals, feeding on grass and roots, without any trace of agriculture or civilization.

On a certain morning, in a length of ages past,* when the natives of Tanasserim, or Tanassery, were contemplating the rising sun, they beheld a figure of majestic form and beautiful appearance suddenly issue from the body of that splendid luminary. All who saw this attractive form ran towards it in an extacy of admiration. In a posture of homage and a tone of reverence they enquired who he was, whence he came, and what was the intention of his coming? The phantom replied, in the language of the country, that he was the progeny of the glorious sun, and that God had sent him to rule over the nations. The people of Tanassery, prostrating themselves upon the earth in humble adoration, said that they were ready to receive him as their chief, and to obey his laws.

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mum, quod versionibus capitum præstantiorum plures in usus, quam hucusque factum, convertatur. Auctor enim munere ecclesiastes in insulis Amboina ac Banda functus, non solum, quæ ipse inde ab a. 1686 variis per plures Indiæ terras itineribus institutis observavit, diligentissime notavit, sed etiam scriptorum hodoeporicorum antecedentium, eorumque qui post illius reditum in Belgium Indiam viserunt, relationes cum suis contulit, optimaque ex iis selegit; varia insuper ex tabulario Societatis Belgo-Indicæ, in usum operis, illi tradita fuerunt, exceptis tamen ejusmodi scriptis, e quibus penitior societatis istius status cognosci posset. Quo factum ut partes Indiæ orientalis, a Belgis occupatas, curatius reliquis pinxerit." Valentyn died in 1727. In the "Bibliotheque Universelle des Voyages, par G. Boucher de la Richarderie," à Paris, 1808, it is mentioned that this work did not find its way into the National Library till the winter of 1796. M. Langlès expresses his surprise that it should have been so long unknown in France; but I am much more surprised that it should have been so little known in this country, where such a large mass of the community are more or less interested in every thing that relates to the East Indies.

* Valentyn vyfde deel, p. 60.

The first thing which this celestial visitant did, after he was received as the sovereign at Tanassery, was to induce the people to leave their savage and desultory life in the woods, and to build houses and villages, in order to live together in a state of civil subordination and social harmony. This king, having closed a long reign, left many sons, amongst whom he divided his dominions. His descendants, who are said to have continued in a long line of descent for 2000 years, were called Suriavas, or descendants of the race of the sun; amongst whom was Vigea Raja, who is celebrated as the first of the Singalese emperors.*

This Vigea Raja, one of the progeny of the sun,† is said to have made the first discovery of the Island of Ceylon, in the year of the world 1996. Accounts differ as to the part of the coast where he effected his first landing; but it is said that he disembarked with 700 men; and,

* In Valentyn the kings of Candy are always called keizers, or emperors. It is curious to observe how the name of the first usurper of the Roman diadem has impressed itself with so much force upon the languages north of the Danube and east of the Rhine, as to become the general term for sovereign, and even to obtain an ascendant over the more ancient and much more venerable name of kónig, koning, or king. The word keizer, or kaiser, which the Germans have generalized for emperor, when referred to its origin, can denote only an usurper. The word emperor, according to its primary signification, indicates a mere military chief, a man at the head of an army; but the word kónig, koning, or king, according to its etymological root, excites the ideas of wisdom and power. The German kónnen implies both wisdom and power; and these are the true attributes of sovereignty. The union of these ideas in the German kónnen, shews that this ancient people, long before they became metaphysicians, had the good sense to note, what the sagacity of Lord Bacon has been so much praised for remarking, that "knowledge is power." This observation has been so often quoted in the recent discussions about national education, that it has become quite familiar to the ear, and is no longer thought recondite, or profound.

† Valentyn remarks, that traces of a similar traditionary fable, with respect to their first Inca, were found amongst the natives of Peru. This is, with great probability, supposed to be of Chinese origin. The first Peruvian emperor, Inca Manco, with his wife, Coja Mama, appears to have been carried, either by design or accident, from China to America. Valentyn refers to Hornbeck de Convers. Indorum, and Hornius in Orig. Americ. lib. xv. cap. x. I agree with the learned writer in the Quarterly Review, Art. I. No. 27, in thinking, that there are numerous vestiges of the Chinese origin of the Singalese.

having proceeded to form a settlement at some distance from the shore, became the first sovereign of the island.

The most learned amongst the Singalese report that Vigea Raja was the son of a king of Tillingo, which borders upon Tanassery, and is a dependance upon the dominion of Siam. The priests, or astrologers, who read his history in the mirror of the stars, declared to his father, that, if he were suffered to remain in the kingdom he would, one day, prove the source of great public disturbance, or general distress; and his father accordingly, after mature deliberation with his wise men, ordered him to quit the kingdom, and, with a certain number of followers, to go in quest of some other place of abode.

As soon as Vigea Raja* arrived in Ceylon, he gave out that he was of royal extraction, but of the race of the sun, and the son of a lion. The oldest inhabitants of the island, at that time, along with the Malabars, worshipped the sun as their supreme god, under the denomination of Eswara; and they had so much respect for the professions of this foreign prince, that they immediately chose him for their king. Where the records of real history are wanting, national vanity, or busy credulity, is ever substituting some dazzling fiction, which passes current, till an age of scrutinizing inquiry succeeds to one of submissive ignorance.†

The emperors, or kings, of Ceylon, to the latest period called themselves, in their conquests, Suria Wangsa, or the race of the sun; and, in the list of their kings, we meet with some who took the name of Co-

* A subsequent account in Valentyn, and resting upon a different authority, ascribes the discovery of Ceylon to some of the descendants of this Vigea Raja, one of whom, named Vigea Comara, is represented as the first king of the country.

† Valentyn says, that it appears from some old books of the Singalese, which were then in existence, that the first king of the island was a Chinese, who was accidentally driven in a junk upon the shore, and that giving himself out for a son of the sun, which the natives at that time worshipped, they freely appointed him to the sovereignty.

mara Singa, which is said to signify a lion's tail. The name Singalese itself evidently alludes to some tradition respecting the lion,* as the word Singa-le denotes the blood or race of a lion, not only in their language, but in the Sanscrit, which appears to be the mother of all the eastern dialects.

Valentyn has exhibited a copious list of Singalese kings, which he procured from the ancient writings and traditions of the people themselves; and which, before his work appeared, had never been seen in any European publication. As the Dutch language, in which the work of Valentyn is composed, is very little known or studied in this country, and as his massy volumes, from their great cost and rarity, can be in the possession only of a few, I shall make no further apology for making a free use of his materials. If part of what I shall collect from his stores be thought dull and tedious, let me not be hastily accused of any undue attention to topics of little interest or importance. For in some of the following portions of Singalese history, it should be considered, that I am exhibiting much that has never appeared in any English work; and, if it be thought dull, it cannot be called stale. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that Ceylon is, at present, an integral part of the British dominions; and that under the humane, just, and wise government of this country, it may become in the south-east what Britain is in the north-west, the queen of isles. The fabled splendour of a descent from the sun, or of a kindred relation to the lion, may ultimately vanish in the true glory, the real prosperity, and the solid advantages, both commercial, moral, and intellectual, which she will derive from her union with the British crown.

From its soil, its climate, and its products, Ceylon is every way calculated to be the seat of plenty, and of happiness, to enrich its own in-

* The story of the lion-birth constitutes one of the national traditions of the Singalese, and will be detailed in the sequel. The royal race of Rome commences with twins who were nurtured by a wolf; but the imperial line of Ceylon has its fabled origin from the loins of a lion.

habitants, and to gratify others by its precious superfluities. Of such an island, particularly considered under its present political relations, even the most early history cannot well be destitute of interest; and if this interest be not so strongly experienced by those who reside at a distance from its deep forests and its lofty mountains, from its groves of cocoa-nuts and its gardens of cinnamon, still it must be vividly felt by numbers of our countrymen, who are settled in that region of beauty and delight, where Nature revels in all the gay luxuriance of vegetable life.*

In the 105th year of the Christian era, the southern coast was under the government of a king, named Vigea Raja, who married a daughter of Callinga Raja, by whom he had a daughter of the most exquisite personal charms. But the astrologers foretold that this paragon of beauty was condemned, by her evil destiny, to endure the caresses of a lion, and to be made the wife of that king of the forest.

Many of the courtiers ridiculed the prediction of this marvellous catastrophe, and could not be brought to believe that the daughter of a king would ever experience such a misfortune, as to have a lion for her spouse. The king, however, who yielded to the alarms of paternal solicitude, was not so incredulous about the truth of the prediction; and, in order to prevent the accomplishment, he ordered a royal mansion to be erected, which was to rest only upon one pillar, and to which no access should be allowed.

The king had provided this place of protection for the fascinating

* In a Spanish translation of Moreri's Dictionary, of which the second volume happens at present to be lying on my table, I find the following remark under the article Ceilan—" Llamanla los Indios Tenasirim ò Tenarisain, que en sue lengua significa tierra de delicias." I have no opportunity of ascertaining whether the word Tenasirim, or, as I have written above, Tanassery, means the "land of delight;" but if it does, it must be allowed that this island of exuberant fertility could not have a more appropriate appellation.

beauty of his daughter, with every thing requisite for her comfortable accommodation for a period of sixteen years. She was attended by some of her favourite women and domestics, who were to minister to her wants, and to relieve the languor of her solitude. The doors of the mansion were made fast; and, as an additional security, a guard of soldiers was stationed near the spot, on whose fidelity the utmost reliance could be placed.

When the abovementioned sixteen years of confinement had passed away, the king ordered the doors again to be opened; but, before he had ascertained whether his daughter were still alive, the fair captive, with some of her domestics, passed unobserved through the watch, and recovered her liberty. In the company of some other people, she made her way into the midst of the adjacent town, through which she proceeded till she overtook a caravan of merchants, who, after executing their business, were returning home. The track they followed led through a spacious forest, when the fair fugitive, oppressed by fatigue, sat down to rest herself for a short time by the way-side. In this situation, her lovely look and captivating form powerfully arrested the attention of one of the merchants, who determined to omit no persuasions, and to spare no efforts, to obtain her for his bride. Whilst he was meditating on the execution of this project, a lion, of tremendous magnitude, sprung forth from a neighbouring thicket. The whole company instantly fled with precipitation, with the exception of the princess, who, remaining motionless with fright, was immediately carried off by the king of the forest, and conveyed to his cave.

Whilst these events were taking place, Vigea Raja, not finding his daughter as he had expected, in her place of confinement, and not being able, after the most diligent inquiries, to learn any tidings respecting her from the watch, or from the people in the house, was oppressed with melancholy, and agitated with alarm. But, at last, he learned from a traveller, that a beautiful female, who was supposed to be the

princess, had been carried off by a lion into a remote part of the forest, and had not since been seen.

The tradition proceeds to state, that after this act of violence, the princess was delivered of twins, a son and a daughter; to the first of whom she gave the name of Singa Bahu Comara, and to the other that of Singa Valli Comari, or children engendered by a lion, and having lion's tails.

The Prince Singa Bahu Comara, who had been nurtured by the lion, exhibited great strength, both of body and of mind, when he attained his fifteenth year. On one occasion, when he asked his mother how it happened that he and his sister were not like their four-footed father, she answered, that a long tale was attached to that circumstance, which, when he was older, she would unfold.—She subsequently informed him that she was the grand daughter of Calinga Raja; and that he and his sister were of that royal line.

As soon as the prince heard this, he felt a great repugnance to live any longer with the lion in the wilderness. He kindled with impatience to make himself known to his relations, and to repair to the court of his ancestors.

On one occasion, whilst the lion was from home, hunting for prey, the prince, in order to make a trial of his strength, took a large stone upon his shoulders, which he carried to a distance of seventy miles, and brought back again, before the lion had returned. On another occasion, when the lion was engaged in the chace, he rolled away the stone which covered the mouth of the cave, took out his mother and sister, who, like himself, were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, placed them on his shoulders, and bore them to the land of the king his grandfather.

When the lion returned, and found that his wife and children had

abandoned the cave, he set up a dreadful roar; and, following the track which they had taken, he laid every thing waste in his way. Bodies of armed men in vain attempted to repress the ravages of this formidable enemy. The king, filled with alarm, and dreading some great catastrophe, directed his treasury to be opened, and some precious stones and pearls to be taken out, and exhibited about the town, by a man mounted upon an elephant, proclaiming them as the reward of any one by whom the furious animal should be destroyed.

The prince Singa Bahu, on hearing this, proposed to his mother and his sister to undertake this glorious achievement; but, considering that it was his father whom he designed to slay, they dissuaded him from perpetrating such a parricidal crime. Singa Bahu, nevertheless, determined to offer his services to the king; who, in addition to the proffered reward, engaged, in case of his success, to give him the half of the kingdom, and to associate him in the government.

The prince accordingly arming himself with his quiver and bow, marched out to meet the enemy. The lion, who recognized his son, imagined, at first, that the attack was rather jocular than serious; and it was not till after three arrows were stuck in his head that he discovered his mistake. But it was then too late to escape from death.

After the death of his lion-father, the prince began to reflect on the pious remonstrance of his mother and sister; when, penetrated with remorse, he bitterly reproached himself with what he had done. In the violence of his regret, he gave some of the attending courtiers a narrative of his whole life, from which they gathered that he was the son of the princess whom they had lost. Notwithstanding these emotions of remorse, the prince, after some internal conflict between conscience and ambition, proceeded to cut off his father's head. With this trophy of his prowess, which was destined to be rewarded with such a royal re-

compence, he made the best of his way to the palace, where he imparted to the sovereign the story of his birth, and the misfortunes of his family. His mother and sister were instantly ordered to be brought to the court, where they no sooner saw the lion's head, than the one began to bewail her husband and the other her father. The king, however, was overjoyed at the recovery of his lost child; and after having ordered her, with her son and daughter, to be apparelled in royal magnificence, he directed the body of her lion-spouse to be consumed, with all due pomp, on a funeral pile.

After this atchievement, the Prince Singa Bahu Comara, as he could find no other suitable match, married his sister, Singa Valli Comari, and he was afterwards crowned, according to the law of the country, which ordained that the marriage of the prince should precede his coronation. Hence also arose the custom, which afterwards prevailed in Ceylon, in conformity with which the emperors married their sisters.

This Singa Valli Comari proved very prolific; for she bore thirty-two sons. The first-born was named Vigea Comara, and his next brother Simit Comara. These two princes were educated along with two associates of the same age; but, as they grew up, they distressed the neighbourhood so much by their violent proceedings, that complaints were made to the king, who was requested to move either them, or the princes, to a different situation.

The king, who was a lover of justice, and who felt more concern for his obedient subjects than for his vicious sons, and their disorderly companions, commanded ships to be immediately equipped, on board of which he put them, and their 700 associates, who were thus compelled to seek their fortunes elsewhere. After a short voyage, they landed in a bay called Tammentatotte, or Tambuligamme, in the neighbourhood of Cotjaar. They found the country wild, and uninhabited; but

they immediately set about building a town, which they called Tammena Nuwara.*

The Prince Vigea Comara, who was afterwards named Vigea Bahu Raja, having no wife, sent to solicit the hand of the daughter of the King of Madura, named Pandu Maharaja. With his daughter, who was designed for the royal bed, the King of Madura sent seven hundred female companions, besides eighteen couple of different casts, and five couple of artificers, consisting of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons.

The princess landed with her numerous attendants in the province of Cotjaar, where she was received with great pomp and rejoicings by Vigea Bahu Raja, who soon made her his wife; after which his coronation took place, according to the custom of the country.

This monarch next built a town called Utapissa, and, after a just and beneficent reign of thirty years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his brother. After the death of Vigea Bahu Raja, one of his nobles, named Tissanaon Ameti, rebelled against his brother Simit Comara, and obtained possession of the town of Utapissa, where he reigned for one year.

* I have represented Vigea Raja as the first sovereign of Ceylon, but that honour, as I have intimated, is also claimed for these princes, of whom Vigea Comara was the first. The primitive history of the Singalese, like that of other nations, which is made up of vague traditions, is largely blended with fable, and involved in uncertainty. It is vain to expect perfect consistency in the transmissions of oral history; and, in endeavouring to chuse between numerous contradictions and incongruities, it must often be impossible to decide in which there is the nearest approximation to truth. I have related no fact, in the whole course of this work, which does not rest upon authority; and though that authority was the best to which I could have access, yet I will not always answer for its credibility. All I can answer for is my own accuracy and fidelity, in making use of the documents in my possession. I lament, for the sake of the reader as well as for my own, that the materials out of which I have constructed the work, were not more copious, and the subject more susceptible of interest.

The Prince Simit Comara was crowned King of Ceylon,* after marrying his brother's widow, by whom he had three sons. He reigned in all twenty-two years.

His youngest son, Pandu Vassaja, having gone to the land of his grandfather, returned with thirty-two companions, with whom he surprised the town of Utapissa, and made himself master of the kingdom. Some time after this, a princess, named Baddacassaje, took refuge in Ceylon with some ships and a numerous retinue. She was well received and sumptuously entertained by Pandu Vassaja, who, having made her his wife, was invested with the royal crown.

Six princes, who were brothers of the new queen, afterwards landed in Ceylon, where the monarch gave them a hospitable reception, and permitted each of them to build a town in any situation he chose, over which they were to reign as feudatory sovereigns.

In the year 137 Pandu Vassaja had established his power over so many inferior kings and dependent chiefs, that he governed the island with absolute authority.† He had six sons, of whom the eldest was called Maja Comara, the second Saguganatissa Comara, and one daughter, who was the third in rank, and named Matsit Comari.

This princess was brought up in a house erected on one pillar, and married one of her cousins by the name of Digagamonu Comara, about the time that the Emperor Pandu Vassaja died, after a reign of thirteen years, leaving behind him a great and venerable name. His eldest son, who had taken the name of Abeia Comara, was his successor in the kingdom. His reign lasted for twenty years, and was no less glorious than that of his father.

* It was then called Lang-cauwn.

† It is asserted that he was the first who bore the title of emperor; but the native accounts are full of contradictions.

Saguganatissa succeeded his brother in the government, and reigned seventeen years. He was followed by his brother-in-law, Digagamonu, who governed well for thirty-seven years. The crown then descended to his son, Pandu Kabaja, who put nine of his uncles to death, and married the Princess Ranapalla (a golden jewel), who was a daughter of the King Mailkari Cudanan Raja. He was thirty-seven years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty-three years. In his time he rebuilt with great magnificence the town of Anurajapure. He also formed rice-lands, which he could overflow with water, and afterwards draw it off again, by artificial means. This part of the country was called Raja Veva. This monarch also directed the people where to erect strongholds and fortresses in the most eligible situations. After having ruled his people with wisdom and justice, he died with great piety* and devotion, and left a glorious name to after times.

His son, Muta Singa Raja, was his successor in the empire. He planted in the wilderness a great grove of cocoa-nut trees, to which he gave the name of Mahamuna. He governed his people as a father does his children; and died after a long reign of sixty years.

He was succeeded in the government by his son, Deveni Petisse Maharaja, who proved not only a prince of gentle disposition, but one who greatly feared God. He had been a scholar of Mihinda Mahatea, one of the priests, to whose memory he had ordered a pagoda to be erected in the middle of a wood. He afterwards caused many others to be built in different parts of the island. He also gave much alms to the poor.

It was during his reign that eight brothers and sisters, princes and princesses, came from the southern coast, out of a country called Ma-

* The old Ceylonese chronicler, whom Valentyn has followed, and whom I have followed through Valentyn, has quite left out of the account of this monarch's piety the massacre of no less than nine uncles, with which he began his reign. Some parts of this catalogue of the kings of Ceylon are as meagre and jejune as the Saxon chronicle.

danpadipe. In their retinue there were some who brought with them the tree of their Bodha, or god, Siermahabodi, which tree (says the writer) is still to be seen in the pagoda of the seven corles.

The Emperor Deveni Petisse Maharaja shewed great favour to the above princely visitants. He built several towns for them and their dependants; and, after a life of great piety, and a glorious reign of forty years, he died in a good old age.

He was succeeded by one of his brothers, named Suratissinam, whose reign lasted ten years. After this, two Malabar missionaries, who introduced horses into Ceylon, succeeded, contrary to all expectation, in usurping the government, which they preserved for twenty-two years by their good conduct and unanimity. But they were both ultimately put to death by Assalanam Raja, a younger brother of Deveni Petisse Maharaja. After recovering the throne of his ancestors, Assalanam Raja reigned for fourteen years, when he experienced a violent death, in a revolution which was effected in the government by Etalunam Raja, a chieftain who came from the coast of Malabar. This successful adventurer thus acquired the imperial crown of Ceylon, which he preserved for forty-four years.

The Singalese throne, which appears to have been regarded as the prize of ambitious chiefs, was next seized by Gilinitissa Raja, who kept it for twenty years, when he was succeeded by one of his cousins, named Golumbera Raja, who kept his court in the province of Roona, where he reigned fourteen years. His son, Ganatissa Raja, who had married a daughter of Gilinitissa Raja, was the next emperor who governed the empire of Roona, as it was then called by the Singalese, with much justice for four years. The great men of the land had the art to conceal the event of his death for a period of thirty years, during all which time they governed the country in his name. But his eldest son, Dutugeinunu Maha-Raja, having destroyed this usurping aristocracy,

got possession of the throne of his father, just at the time that the country was overrun by the Malabars, and the religious worship of the island every where suppressed. But Dutugeinunu Maha-Raja soon found means to assemble an army of between eleven and twelve thousand men, when, mounting his elephant named Caddolhotu, he proceeded to the province of Roona, from which he had been compelled to fly. He attacked the Malabars in their thirty-two strong-holds in this province and in other parts of Ceylon, destroyed 129,000 of the enemy in the first battle, took the town of Anuraja Pure, slew Ellala the king of the Malabars, and cleared the island from the whole race of those invaders. After this event he received the imperial crown, and experienced a pacific reign of twenty-four years.

The last monarch was succeeded by his brother Sedetissa Raja, a sovereign of a gentle and devout disposition, who built the pagoda of Gunuditihera, and made ten beautiful rice-grounds, which could at pleasure be overflown or laid dry. His tranquil reign lasted eighteen years; during which there was not the smallest disturbance either from within or from without. His son and successor, Tullenam Raja, also built a pagoda in a village called Chamanda Landaru. He reigned one year, nine months, and ten days, when he was put to death by Lemenetissa Raja, who laid violent hands upon the crown.

This Lemenetissa Raja, having reigned thirty-nine years and eight months and a half, was succeeded by his brother Caluman Raja, who held the government for sixteen years, when his brother, Walagam Bahu Raja reigned in his stead. But this last sovereign had swayed the sceptre only eight months, when seven brothers, with seven different armies, came from the opposite coast of Malabar. They landed their troops in seven different bays of the island, fought against the emperor, and put him to flight; but no one knew the place of his retreat.

Five of these seven brother-chieftains now ruled over the island, but the two others returned again to their own country with the relics or

bones of their idol Bodha. These five brothers had governed the country thirty-six years and seven months, when they were destroyed by Walagam Bahu Raja, who recovered the kingdom, which he afterwards governed for twelve years and five months. His son Chonanga Raja, who succeeded him, reigned for twenty-six years. One of the nobles, named Bemminitissa, then obtained violent possession of the government, which he conducted with great authority for twelve years.

Maha Deliatissa, a son of Caluna Raja, then ruled the kingdom for fourteen years; when Chorawa, the youngest son of Walagam Bahu Raja, succeeded to the throne. Though this prince manifested his impiety in destroying numerous pagodas, he nevertheless swayed the sceptre with great moderation and justice for twelve years. But he grievously harassed his nobles and courtiers; because he thought that they oppressed the people more than they ought. The nobles and courtiers accordingly rose up against him and put him to death, giving out that his soul was gone to hell, or, in their language, to Lovamahanara Caddia.

The son of Mahu Deliatissa, whose name was Cuda Tissa Raja, was next set upon the throne; which he had occupied for three years, when he was put to death by his wife Anularam Bisava, who reigned one year after his destruction. But Culavon, the secretary of her husband, made use of the same barbarous perfidy towards her, which she had practised towards her royal spouse. Culavon next seized the crown, which he kept during a short reign of eighteen months; when he was slain by another Malabar, named Tomo, who reigned only four months.

At this time Malulantissa, a son of the murdered Cuda Tissa Raja abovementioned, found means to establish himself upon the throne of his father, which he filled with much renown for twenty-six years. His gentle government caused him to be beloved by his subjects; and his active vigilance to be feared by his neighbours. Nothing escaped his observation; and he made such wise dispositions through all his

dominions, and particularly in the vicinity of the coast, that not even a small vessel could come to anchor in his harbours or bays, without his knowledge or permission. No invader dared to approach the shore.

His son, Batia Raja, who next assumed the government, was a devout and pious person, who erected a magnificent pagoda, made many rich offerings to his gods, and, treading in the footsteps of his father, enjoyed a tranquil reign of twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by his brother, Madilimanna Raja, who built a beautiful pagoda in a village named Ambulu Vagala. Here he placed the images of his gods and the bones of his saints. He levied no taxes upon his subjects, but gave himself up entirely to religious observances, and ordered his people to pray diligently to the idols of his fathers. He embellished his favourite pagoda with a garden of flowers, and omitted nothing that could in any way contribute to increase the beauty or magnificence of his decorations.

His son, Adagu Muwene Raja, next mounted the throne. He formed two spacious rice grounds, paid great attention to the government of his people, and imposed upon them no other service, than that of serving their gods. During his reign, he did not suffer a single individual to be put to death. After a reign of nine years and eight months he was carried to the grave. His successor in the kingdom was his son, Cada Ambera Raja, who died at the end of six years.

His sister, Nalabissava, who succeeded him, reigned for the same period. She had married her mother's sister's son, Elunna Raja, who also held the sceptre for six years. After this, his younger brother, Sandamahana Raja was put to death by the Prince Asnapa Raja, in the sixth year of his reign. Asnapa Raja formed sixteen rice grounds, with very good water courses, built many pagodas, and reigned for forty-one years with great glory, as he had exceedingly improved the country and bettered the condition of the inhabitants. His son, Vacne-

lisinam Raja, who was his successor in the government, reigned only three years.

Bapa Raja, the son of the last monarch, next swayed the sceptre. He had a son named Gaja Bahu Comara, who was brought up along with Milo, a son of one of the cast of washermen, who was born on the same day as the prince. Both these children grew up to be strong as giants. The emperor, his father, had an iron walking stick or pole made for him, which it required sixty men to carry. It was as thick as twenty-two clinched fists, and was thirty-five span long. The handle was overlaid with gold, and the top of it blushed with a great and inestimable ruby. This walking pole was quite a plaything in his hand, and his giant foster-brother sometimes carried it after his lord. During the government of Bapa Raja, and whilst his son was only a youth, a great army landed from the coast of Malabar, which attacked the Singallese troops, and made 12,000 prisoners. With the exception of this disaster his reign was a peaceable period of twelve years.

CHAP. III.

Singalese History, as it is represented in their own Annals, continued till the Arrival of the Portuguese, in the Year 1505. Gaja Bahu, his Vengeance on the Malabars. Mana Raja. Hamatissa Raja. Cuda Raja. Venitissa Raja. Ambaheraman Raja. Sirina Raja. Vierdu Raja. Sangatissa Raja. Sirisanga Bodi Raja; a great Plague; fabulous Circumstances respecting an Invasion of his Dominions; submits to die for the good of his Subjects; his Head speaks after it was cut off. Lemini Golu Raja. Guwelaguwem Dettatissa. Malasen Raja. Guitsirimenaon Raja. Deva Tissa Raja. Upatissa Manam Raja; a great Sage visits Ceylon, his Doctrine widely diffused. Senam Raja. Leminitissa Raja. Visenan Curalsoo Raja. Seven Malabar Chiefs invade the Country and usurp the Government. Dacem Gulia Raja, builds many Pagodas, forms numerous Rice Fields. Comara Dahai Raja; he refuses to survive the death of a favourite Poet. Nine Emperors, of whom five suffered a violent Death. Dos Raja carried off by the Malabars. Ariacsi Chaccaravarti, King of Jaffnapatam, endeavours to subdue the whole Island with the Aid of the Malabars; the Country delivered by Alagues Vira Mandrim. Ruccale Praccaram Bahu Raja, builds a Palace at Cotta; shews great Favour to the Priests; vanquishes a large Army of the King of Canara; avenges an Affront of the Malabars; suppresses a domestic Rebellion; defeats an Attempt of the King of Jaffnapatam to make himself Emperor of Ceylon; obtains Possession of his Capital, and makes one of his Nephews King of the Country; closes a long Reign in Piety and Peace. First Arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon in the Year 1505.

WHEN Gaja Bahu ascended the throne, and heard how the Malabars had carried off 12,000 of his father's subjects, he became agitated with rage, and vowed that he would revenge the affront. With no other attendant than his foster brother, Milo Jojada, and with no other weapon than his iron walking stick, he proceeded from the province of Roona, and from the town of Guliapura Nawara; and, without having

recourse to boat or ship, he swam over to the coast of Malabar. Having dispersed the troops that opposed his landing, he marched towards the capital where the king held his court. That monarch, hearing of his approach, ordered all the gates to be shut; but the Emperor Gaja Bahu, having soon battered them to pieces with his club, went directly to the palace, set fire to all the doors and ransacked the apartments, till at last he discovered the king in a small room, where he was reclined on a bed. After sitting by the Malabar sovereign for some time, without saying a word, Gaja Bahu proceeded to lay his staff upon his stomach, which almost pressed his breath out of his body, and did not leave him power to utter a syllable. In the mean time his foster brother made great havoc in the town. He not only crushed all the men that came in his way, but slaughtered their horses in heaps, and laid their strongest elephants dead with a blow.

In this emergency the terrified King of Malabar, whom the lifting up of the iron staff enabled to breathe a little, asked the Emperor of Ceylon how large an army he had brought with him, when he replied, that he and his foster brother had come over by themselves, without any other attendants. He was then asked, what was the object of his expedition, and he replied, "I came here only to liberate 12,000 of my subjects, who have been carried into captivity." The King of Malabar, who was still half dead with affright, proposed to give up all the prisoners who were living, and to substitute others for those who were dead. But this offer did not satisfy the emperor. He required 24,000 captives, or threatened to lay the whole country waste. In order to escape these horrors, the king instantly complied with the emperor's demands, and furnished him with ships and provisions, that he might depart as soon as possible.

On his return to Ceylon, Gaja Bahu placed the 12,000 men in the land of Gale, and settled the rest in different parts of the island. Some of these took up their abode in Abu Curuwa, a part of the seven

Corles, and others in other parts of the same province. After this period Gaja Bahu conducted the government with great vigour; and, in the twenty-two years of his reign, was so formidable to his neighbours, that they trembled at his very name.

He was succeeded by Mana Raja, the eldest son of his mother's sister, who had an inactive reign of sixteen years. After him the sceptre devolved to Hamatissa Raja, who, during a reign of twenty-six years, left no other monument of his deeds than a pagoda, which he constructed for the relics of the saints. The names of the six following sovereigns were Cuda Raja, Venitissa Raja, Ambaheraman Raja, Sirina Raja, Vierdu Raja, and Sangatissa Raja, whose united reigns occupied a period of seventy-eight years.

Srisanga, or Sirisanga Bodi Raja, was the next emperor. In his time there was a great plague, which was occasioned partly by a devil, or evil spirit, called Ratenam Racsea, (which means a devil with red eyes) and partly by a great scarcity of rain. Sirisanga Bodi Raja asked the devil the meaning of this, and why he so tormented the country? The devil answered, that he wanted a certain number of the people for his servants, and that, when he had obtained them, the plague should cease. The king said, that he had no power to give his people over to him and to death, but that he would serve him in their stead, and that he was ready to do this for their sake. The devil answered, that not even a hundred devils would have the hardihood to kill a sovereign, who was so righteous and beneficent. Upon this the devil entered into a treaty with the emperor, in which the former agreed that the plague should cease; and that when any one fell sick, they should make some images of the devil, to whom they should be presented as offerings. The emperor undertook to maintain the observance of this compact, and to enforce these regulations.

In the life-time of this emperor, a king, named Lemeni Golu Amba Raja, invaded his dominions with a great force, with which he made

himself master of the country. But not contented with this, he offered a reward for the emperor's head, besides putting to death great numbers of his people.

The emperor concealed himself in a pagoda, where he was discovered by a stranger, who told him that many of the nobles had lost their heads in order to preserve his from being delivered up to the enemy; and that if it were known that he had seen and spoken to his majesty, without taking away his life, according to the orders of the usurper, he should himself be put to death. The emperor, hearing this, and regarding his own preservation of less moment than the welfare of his subjects, told the stranger that he might freely take away his life; for that it was better that he should die for the good of his subjects, than that so many innocent people should be put to death on his account.

The stranger could not help admiring the magnanimity of the emperor, but, at the same time considering, on the other side, the danger which threatened himself, and the great reward which was offered for his majesty's head, he struck it off with his sword, and proceeding to the town of Roona, presented it to Amba Raja, who had recently usurped the title of emperor.

This prince, doubting whether it were the real head of the late sovereign, ordered the person who brought it to be put to death as an impostor; but he, lifting up the head, placed it before them, calling upon his gods to witness that it was the very head of Sirisanga Bodi Raja. When the head was lifted up, fire and smoke came from on high; and the head itself speaking, thus addressed the new emperor: "I am the head of Sirisanga Bodi Raja, who, through God's power, testify that I was cut off from my body by the man who has brought me here."

This unexpected declaration of the head quite disconcerted Lemini Golu Amba Rajà, as well as all the courtiers who were with him, and who were seized with a panic of apprehension. The emperor gave orders that the price, which had been set upon the head, should be immediately paid to the stranger who brought it, as otherwise he was afraid of being persecuted by the spirit of the murdered prince. The head itself he directed to be buried with great pomp, whilst he raised a magnificent pagoda over the grave in which it was laid. The usurper regarded these remains of the emperor, whom he had conspired to destroy, as his best and most precious relics, and one of his most potent idols.

After this event, Lemini Golu Raja lived very devoutly for twenty-two years. He built some more pagodas in Anuraja Pure, distributed much in charity, and governed his people with great justice and moderation. According to his desire, Guwelaguwem Dettatissa, the son of the former emperor, was placed upon the throne. This monarch ordered that eight of the most distinguished nobles and subjects of the preceding sovereign should be perpetually employed in servile labour, for having advised that chief to put his father to death. He restored every thing in the kingdom to the state in which it was in the time of his father, built many pagodas, and reigned ten years.

He was succeeded in the government by his brother, Malasen Raja, who gave himself up entirely to the service of demons. For this purpose he had himself instructed by the priests, who initiated him in the knowledge of all their subtle lore; by means of which he is said to have enriched his dominions with some hundreds of rice fields. This was the most remarkable atchievement in a reign of twenty-four years, which he devoted principally to the cultivation of the earth.

Up to this period, according to the Singalese records, which do not seem always very accurate or consistent in their chronological details,

846 years, nine months, and twenty days had elapsed since the time of Boodh.

The Emperor Guitsirimenaon Raja then ascended the throne, during whose reign a prince and princess, who were brother and sister, children of Mahasira Raja, came from the land of Calinga, and from the town of Dantapure. The name of the prince was Danta Comara, and of the princess Raon Valli. In the disguise of devotees and Brahmins they both escaped out of their native country with the relics of numerous saints, with which they fled to Ceylon, where they were very hospitably received by the emperor, and honoured with numerous presents.

Guitsirimenaon Raja built many pagodas, and governed very righteously for twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by his brother, Deva Tissa Raja, who with his own hands carved out of ivory and sandal wood the images of many idols and representations of Boodh, and with such exquisite skill and beauty, that they could not be excelled. He passed his time very happily and prosperously in the service of his gods, during the nine years of his reign.

His son and successor, Rajas Raja, invited into his dominions many priests, astrologers, physicians, and others whom he thought likely to be of any benefit to his subjects. Five hundred priests were fed by his bounty, and he had a righteous reign of thirty-one years.

In the reign of Utapissa Manam Raja, the next monarch, a renowned sage passed over into Ceylon from the coast of Choromandel. He distributed amongst the people many thousand copies of his doctrine in the Sanscrit tongue. They had been transcribed by 361,000 disciples, and contained a new religion, which they denominate Attua Catava. The present monarch was so much attached to this teacher and his opinions, that he exerted himself with great zeal during a reign of twenty-six years to diffuse them through his dominions. The Singalese throne

was next occupied by Senam Raja, Leminitissa Raja, and Visenan Caralsoo Raja, each of whom had a reign of six years. But that of the last was forcibly terminated by the invasion of seven chiefs from the coast of Malabar, who conquered the country, over which they ruled for twenty-seven years. At the end of this period, their united domination was destroyed by the arms of Dacem Gulia Raja, who was wont to live in the wilderness as a jogi, or devotee, but who, on this occasion, found means to assemble a large army, and deliver his country from a foreign yoke.

Dacem Gulia Raja, having placed himself upon the throne, demonstrated his piety by the erection of eighteen pagodas, and the celebration of as many solemn festivals. He also formed numerous rice fields, with the requisite contrivances for irrigation. This devout prince was succeeded by his son, Comara Dahai Raja, who held the sceptre for twenty-nine years. This reign was distinguished by a catastrophe which evinced a more than ordinary sensibility of character. Comara Dahai Raja, who was himself a votary of the muse, had a great poet amongst his subjects, to whom he was much attached. This unfortunate bard was assassinated by a courtezan, when the grief of the emperor was so excessive, that he threw himself into the fire which was prepared to consume the corpse of the murdered Calidassa. But this feeling sovereign chose rather to have his ashes rest in the tomb with those of his friend, than to prolong his life in permanent agony of heart.*

I shall now pass over nine emperors, whose united reigns amounted to

* Valentyn's words are:—Zekere Hoer doodde in zyn tyd een Groot Dichter, van welken de Keizer zeer veel werk maakte, abzoo hy in die konst boven alle andren uytstak, en om de Vorst ook zelf een Liefhebber van de dichkonst was. Hy belastte niet alleen aanstonds die hoer om te brengen, maar sprong uyt liefde tot dien dichter wanneer hy zou verbrand werden, en uyt een onverzettelyke droefheid, mede in 't vuur, dat zyn lyk verteerde, verkiezende liever met zynen vriend Calidassa te verbranden, als zonder hem in geduurige hartzeer in 't leven te blyven.—Vyfde deel p. 70.

117 years, and five of whom appear to have suffered a violent death, when I come to the name of Dos Raja, who, in the sixth year of his reign, was made prisoner by a large army of Malabars, and carried off into that country. At this time, Jaffnapatam, in the northern extremity of Ceylon, was governed by a king, who was in possession of a larger army and a richer treasury than the Emperor of Candy. This prince, whose name was Ariacsi Chaccaravarti Raja, perceiving that there was no sovereign in the southern provinces, entertained the project of making himself master of the whole island. He marched accordingly into the territory of the Candians, giving out that he was only come to see the country, which he designed to subdue.

At this time there was a great chief, named Alagues Vira Mandrim, to whom the Singalese looked up with no ordinary respect. This chief, penetrating the object of the King of Jaffnapatam, retired with some followers to the town of Reygam, where he prepared for resistance. The King of Jaffnapatam, finding that a vigorous opposition was about to be made to his schemes of ambition in that and in other parts of the island, procured a large army of auxiliaries from the coast of Malabar. But these troops were attacked with such fury by the Singalese, who, it is said, fell upon them like lions, that most of the enemy were left dead upon the field. At this period, the above-mentioned chief, Alagues Vira Mandrim, mounted on his elephant, performed such feats of heroism, as greatly contributed to the deliverance of his country and the destruction of the foe.

The Singalese now chose for their king Ruccule Praccarum Bahu Raja, a prince who was descended from some of their most illustrious sovereigns, and had been educated in the pagoda of Vida Gamma. He was placed upon the throne on a Thursday, being the eighth day of the new moon, in the month of May, in the year 1958 after the death of Boodh, and 1453 since the birth of Christ. After remaining three years at

Reygam, he repaired to Cotta,* where he built a beautiful town, all of strong blue stone, with a magnificent palace of the same materials, and with shrines, for the demons and the idols whom he worshipped. He made this his residence, where his chief companion was a favourite priest. Here he preserved the relics of Boodh, and built a separate house or monastery for his priests. After shewing this favour to the priests, it need not excite our surprise that the daughter, of whom his royal consort was soon after delivered, should be distinguished by the name of Ulacudaganam Deva,† which Deva means goddess in the language of the Singalese.

Not long after this the emperor was suddenly attacked by a large army, which was sent against him by the King of Canara, but which he vanquished with a promptitude that diffused the splendour of his arms through the whole East, whilst it rendered him much beloved by his subjects at home.

On one occasion he sent a ship with cinnamon to the neighbouring coast of Malabar. This vessel anchored in the bay of Driampatam, where it was seized and plundered by a chief of the country, Raja Malavaragam, whilst the crew were made prisoners. The emperor, hearing of this affront, ordered the dominions of the raja to be wasted with fire and sword.

Whilst the affairs of the emperor in Ceylon were in a state of tranquillity, one of his tributary chiefs raised the standard of revolt. Supported by the people of the five provinces over which he presided, he resolved to shake off his dependance upon the emperor. In order to strengthen his influence, he distributed many villages and lands among his partizans, and lavished upon them many high sounding titles, to

* He is said, in Valentyn, to have been placed upon the throne of the emperors of Cotta.

† How nearly this approaches the Latin Diva, or Dea, and the Greek θεα.

which the Singalese are much attached. The emperor sent a great army against this rebellious foe, whose adherents he slew by thousands; and, having captured many of his nearest relations, and driven the chief himself out of Candy, he committed the conquered country to the government of one of his vassals, who was to pay him an annual tribute.

The King of Jaffnapatam, who had assumed the title of Emperor of Ceylon, alarmed by the increasing power of his rival, who was styled Emperor of Cotta, made preparations to avert the impending storm. But the Emperor of Cotta, who had resolved to make himself master of Jaffnapatam, marched an army into that country, previously informing the sovereign, that, as Ceylon could not contain two emperors, his general, Sappu Comara, was come to release him from the weight of that title; and, as he could not be at peace, nor remain contented with what he possessed, to take care that the general tranquillity should not in future be disturbed by his machinations. When the King of Jaffnapatam heard that the enemy was approaching, he sent three of his courtiers, one after another, to attempt to stop their progress; but these were all slain by Sappu Comara, who soon shewed himself before the walls of his capital, mounted, as the account says, on a blue horse, with a green mane.

The King of Jaffnapatam, terrified by the sight of this formidable foe, dispatched to the combat Varacara, one of his stoutest cavaliers, who had thought to have cut his adversary in pieces; but, before he could come up with him, he was himself run through the body by the enemy. In the mean time, Sappu Comara accomplished the conquest of the capital and of the surrounding country, over which the emperor made one of his nephews king.

After these events, this sovereign enjoyed a reign of profound peace for a long period of fifty-five years, passing the close of his days in the

service of the gods. In the fifty-second year of this prince's reign,* Laurence D'Almeida, the son of the Viceroy of Goa, landed on the Island of Ceylon, and is the first Portuguese that ever visited the country.

* A. C. 1505. I need not revert to the gross incongruities which are very apparent in some of the Singalese historical and chronological details. They will, however, bring the reader acquainted with all that is known of their ancient history.

CHAP. IV.

Sterility of the Singalese Annals. Jaja Wira Praccaram Bahu. Mahapandita Praccaram Bahu Raja; his title disputed; dethroned and put to Death by Ambulvagala, who became Emperor. Darma Praccaram Bahu; his four Brothers. A Moorish Chief vanquished by these Brothers. Hostilities of the King of Candy against the Emperor of Cotta. A Portuguese Ship anchors in the Bay of Columbo. The Emperor makes a Treaty with the Commander. Death of the Emperor. Viga Bahu. Arrival of another Portuguese Ship; an Attack upon the Crew; Apology of the Emperor; Treaty of Amity. Sons of the Emperor and his Brother by a common Wife. They make War upon their Father, who is vanquished and put to Death. Bowaneca Bahu Maha Raja, Emperor, quells a Rebellion; marries his Daughter, whose eldest Son, Darma Palla, he recommends as his Successor to the Protection of the Portuguese. Hostilities of his Brother. The Emperor shot Dead. Darma Palla crowned by the Portuguese, who support him against his Enemies. The Viceroy of Goa brings Succours to the Emperor; returns to Goa. Feuds in the Court of Candy. The Emperor baptized by a Franciscan Priest; compelled to abandon Goa; takes Refuge with the Portuguese. Raja Singa Raja, Emperor.

THOUGH I am now arrived at the period when the state of affairs in Ceylon became changed by the arrival of the Europeans, I shall follow the example of Valentyn in continuing the scanty notices of the Singalese history, which have been furnished by their native writers, before I proceed to describe the commencement and progress of their intercourse with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and other nations; with the varied events which it occasioned, and the scenes of ravage and bloodshed which it too often produced. In the two preceding chapters, I am conscious that I have been traversing a desart, where there was hardly a blade of grass to relieve the eye, or a drop of water to moisten the lips.

In the present chapter, the prospect will not, I fear, exhibit more variety or interest: but, if the way is wearisome and oppressive, I shall endeavour to render it as short as possible; and the reader has this advantage over the author, that, if these three chapters have nothing to arrest attention, or to excite curiosity, he may get to the end of them easily by turning over the leaves. But the author must proceed step by step over the barren waste, and think it luxury if only one pleasurable sensation should occur to cheer his path or to alleviate his toils.

Ruccule Praccaram Bahu Raja, whose death I have mentioned in the last chapter, and who appears to have fixed the imperial residence at Cotta, was, in the year 1508, succeeded in the sovereignty by his grandson, Jaja Wira Praccaram Bahu. This monarch fell sick, and died, after a reign of seven years; when a young prince, whom he had brought up in the palace, became emperor of Cotta, under the name of Mahapandita Praccaram Bahu Raja. But his title was soon disputed by Ambulvagala, a first cousin of the former emperor, who raised an army against him, defeated his forces in the field, and besieged his capital of Cotta, which he took by treachery.*

The emperor, hearing of this disaster, ordered his queen and all her women to be deprived of life, that they might escape the profane violence of the enemy; but he himself, after a short reign of one year, was taken prisoner, and put to death by Ambulvagala, who reigned in his stead.

Ambulvagala enjoyed the sovereignty in peace for a period of twenty years, under the title of Wira Praccaram Bahu. At his death, Darma Praccaram Bahu, the eldest of his five sons, succeeded to the throne. His second son, Taniam Vallaba, became King of Candupiti Madampa; the third reigned over Manikravare, with the title of Siri Raja Singa; the

* Valentyn Byzondre zaaken van Ceylon, p. 74.

fourth became king of Reigam; and the fifth, who had the title of Saccalacala Valaba Raja, King of Udugampala.

At this period a Moorish chief, named Adiracarajan, anchored in the bay of Chilao with a large fleet and a considerable army. But his army was defeated and his fleet destroyed by the efforts of Saccalacala and his brother, King Taniam Vallaba. Saccalacala put the Moorish chieftain to death with his own hand.

The King of Candy, who was at this period a tributary to the Emperor of Cotta, began to throw off his allegiance, and to assume an independent authority. The emperor sent his brother, Siri Raja Singa against the rebellious chief, who reduced him to such straits, that he was happy to procure his pardon by a payment of money and elephants, and by abandoning his daughter to the pleasure of the emperor.

The emperor afterwards gave this princess in marriage to one of his chiefs, called Dequiravella, by whom she had six sons and a daughter, who was married to the Prince Jaja Vira Bandara.

Some years after this the King of Candy renewed hostilities against the Emperor of Cotta, who sent his brother Saccalacala against him with such a force, that he was soon compelled to throw himself prostrate at the feet of Saccalacala, and, stripped of all the insignia of royalty, to sue for peace in the most humiliating manner. He was again received into favour, but on much harder conditions than before.

In the life-time of this Emperor of Cotta, Darma Praccaram Bahu, and about the year 1530, the Singalese annals say, that a ship came from Portugal, which was the second that had anchored in the bay of Columbo. As soon as the emperor received intelligence of that event, he called together his four royal brothers, with whom he deliberated whether or not he should permit the strangers to land. Saccalacala, the King of Udugampola, said that he would first proceed in person to

where the ship lay; when he was so much gratified by his reception, that he advised the emperor to make a treaty of amity with the Portuguese. Upon this the Portuguese sent a deputation to Cotta, with presents for the emperor, which were very favourably received; and a mutual league was the consequence. This is the account of the Singalese; but the embassy, which they have recorded, appears to have taken place in the preceding reign.

Darma Praccaram Bahu closed his life after a reign of twenty-five years, and appears to have been celebrated for liberality to his friends, and for charity to the poor. Saccalacala Valaba, who, though the youngest, was the wisest of the four brothers, would have been raised to the throne if he would have accepted the dignity; but his refusal caused the choice to fall upon the King of Reygam, who became emperor under the title of Viga Bahu. In his time another Portuguese ship anchored in the bay of Columbo; and, whilst the crew were engaged in unloading the cargo, they were attacked by a party of Singalese soldiers, who, however, were soon put to flight by a few shot. The emperor, who does not appear to have given any orders for this act of hostility, either felt, or affected to feel, great indignation at the conduct of his troops. He accordingly sent an embassy to the Portuguese to apologize for the outrage, and to represent it as originating in mistake. Two or three of the Portuguese soldiers were, at the same time, conducted with great ceremony to the residence of the emperor, where they were very courteously received; and a treaty was concluded, which professed to establish an eternal amity.

The Emperor Viga Bahu, and his brother Siri Raja Singa, are said, when young men, to have had only one wife between them, who was daughter of a chief called Quiravella Mahabisso Adassyn. By these two brothers this lady had four sons; of whom the first died when young. The name of the second was Bowanaccu Bahu Maha Raja, of the third Para Raja Singa Raja, of the fourth Majadunna Raja. When the

mother of these princes died, the emperor married another wife, of the family of Quiravella; who, upon her nuptials, had the title of Deva Raja Singa Comari.

This new empress, jealous of the regard which her husband evinced for his first family, conspired with two of the principal courtiers to remove them out of the way. But they had timely intimation of her sanguinary designs, and fled to a pagoda, where they were concealed by the priests. The two elder princes remained a considerable time in this sacred retreat; but the youngest repaired to Candy, where the reigning king, Jaja Vira Raja, had married his niece. He now invited his two brothers to join him, and, being furnished with a large force by the Candian monarch, they waged war upon the emperor their father, whom they reduced to great straits; and forced him to abandon to their vengeance the two courtiers who were implicated in the machinations of the empress against their lives.

But, not satisfied with this concession, they marched to Cotta, and having obtained possession of the palace, they carried off all the imperial treasure, and gave orders to have their father put to death, because he adhered to the party of his wife. Not one of his native subjects could be found who was willing to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign; but, at last, they discovered a stranger, named Seelam, who perpetrated the atrocious deed. This emperor reigned eight years.

The morning after his death the eldest brother was crowned by the title of Bowaneca Bahu Maha Raja. A nephew of the last emperor, by one of his sisters, along with two chiefs and some other followers, opposed the claims of the new sovereign; but they were defeated, and their lands given to the Panneas, a caste, whose office it is to cut grass for the horses and elephants.

The emperor had a daughter named Samudra Deva, who had mar-

ried a chief of Malabar extraction, named Vigea Bandara Raja, by whom she had two sons. Bowaneca Bahu had determined that the eldest of these grandsons, who was named Darma Palla, should succeed him on the throne; but his brothers had recourse to arms, in order to prevent the accomplishment of this design.

In the present exigency of his affairs, the emperor felt it politic to recommend his grandson and intended successor, Darma Palla, to the protection of the King of Portugal, in order to secure him against the arms of those by whom his title might be opposed. For this purpose he sent an embassy to Portugal, with a rich treasure and valuable presents.

The emperor's brother, who was King of Majaduna, having heard of this embassy, and at the same time being informed of the death of his brother, who was king of Reygam, called in the aid of the Moors from the opposite coast, who sent him some succours, in conjunction with which he laid siege to the town of Cotta; but the enterprise was rendered abortive by the vigorous opposition of the Portuguese. The King of Majaduna now sued for peace, which was offered upon condition that he would give up the two chiefs of his Moorish auxiliaries.. But, as he refused to comply with this demand, his army was furiously attacked by the emperor and the Poruguese, who put it to a total route; and the king was compelled to fly to Saffragam, with the loss of all his royal ornaments.

The King of Majaduna remained, for some time, concealed from the search of his pursuers; but afterwards returned, with the forces which he could muster, to his capital of Sitavaca, where he had resolved to renew the conflict. When this intelligence reached the emperor, he repaired with a large army to Calane, where the King of Majaduna had a sumptuous residence. After remaining some time at this place, the emperor, whilst reclining near the window, was shot through the head by a

Portuguese soldier; but without its being known whether the act were fortuitous or designed.

Darma Palla Maha Raja was now placed upon the throne, by the strong hand of the Portuguese. This was no sooner perceived by the King of Majaduna, than he marched to Cotta with a considerable army, and bravely attacked the force of the new made emperor and his European allies; but he was again vanquished, and forced to quit the field.

In the mean time Darma Palla sent an account of these events to the King of Portugal and to the Viceroy of Goa, who, at his request, dispatched more troops to his assistance. The viceroy himself, Don Louis de Taydo, with his nephew Don Juan, afterwards anchored in the Bay of Columbo, with a large fleet and a considerable supply of military stores. They proceeded to Cotta, where they experienced a very favourable reception.

After mature deliberation on the present situation of the emperor, the viceroy, De Taydo, marched to Sitavaca, from which the King of Majaduna was compelled to fly, leaving his palace a prey to the enemy. The Portuguese commander set fire to the town of Sitavaca, after which he returned to Cotta; and having left his nephew Don Juan with the emperor, he again took his departure for Goa.

Don Juan fell sick not long after he had been invested with this command; when he resigned his power to Diego de Melo, who became captain-general of the Portuguese. Some violent feuds about this period arose in the family of Jaga Vira, King of Candy, who finding one of his sons in rebellion against him, and supported by a powerful force, mounted his royal elephant named Aira Vatta, when, proceeding with his wife, his other children, and a large train of followers, to Sitavaca, he took the crown off his head, and threw it at the feet of the King of Majaduna. But this appeal to the sympathy of that monarch

was not sufficient to induce him to support the King of Candy in the contest with his eldest son, whose claims to the crown he was endeavouring to set aside in favour of the children of a second wife.

In the reign of the Emperor Darma Palla, a Franciscan priest, John Villa da Conde resided for some time at Cotta, when he succeeded in persuading the emperor to be baptized, along with many of his nobles and people.

Peace was soon afterwards restored between the King of Majaduna, the emperor, and the Portuguese; but other contentions ensued, which finally proved fatal to the power of the Emperor Darma Palla, who was compelled to abandon Cotta, and take refuge with the Portuguese; whilst the youngest son of the King of Majaduna, who received the title of Raja Singa Raja, reduced all Ceylon under his power, with the exception of the Portuguese settlements at Columbo and Point de Galle. The astrologers are said to have early foretold that this prince would one day become master of the whole island; but the next chapter will exhibit more particulars of his conduct and character.

CHAPTER V.

Ceylon, how discovered by the Portuguese; State of the Island on their Arrival. Don Lorenzo d'Almeyda anchors in the Bay of Galle; enters into a Treaty with the King; stipulates for an annual Payment of Cinnamon. Lopez Suaar Alvarenga, in the Year 1518, *after some ineffectual Opposition from the Natives, erects a Fort at Columbo; forces the Emperor to pay an annual Tribute of Precious Stones, &c. to Emanuel, King of Portugal. The Singalese, exasperated by Injustice, lay Siege to the Fortress of Columbo; are finally dispersed, and the Emperor compelled to sue for Peace. The Fortress of Columbo demolished in* 1524. *A Moorish Chieftain endeavours by a Stratagem to get the Portuguese, who were left at the Factory, into his Power. The Emperor Darma Praccaram Bahu places his Grandson, Parea Bandara, under the Protection of the King of Portugal; sends an Embassy to that Court with an Image of the young Prince and a Crown of Gold. The Image ceremoniously crowned in* 1541. *Parea Bandara succeeds his Grandfather, but is forced by Raja Singa to fly from Candy and take Refuge at Columbo. Cruelties of Raja Singa; his Perfidy and Barbarity to Fimala Lamantia, one of his Chiefs. A Son of Fimala Lamantia sent to Goa, where he is baptized under the Name of Don John. The People of Candy, exasperated against Raja Singa, are disposed to unite with the Portuguese, who think by that Means to become Masters of the Island. The Portuguese first make themselves Masters of Jaffnapatam, and then march to Candy. The Candians terrified at their Proceedings; Don Philippo and Don John, Two Princes of the Blood-royal of Candy, dispatched to quiet their Fears. The Portuguese obtain Possession of Candy, where they raise Don Philippo to the Throne, but still in a State of Dependence upon the Portuguese. Rancour of Don John against the Portuguese excited by their Preference of Don Philippo; consults a Magician how best to get rid of his royal Adversary; Poison recommended. He executes his Purpose in the Absence of the Portuguese, who were watching the Motions of Raja Singa. His Adherents numerous, the Portuguese alarmed; Don John, elected Emperor, menaces the Portuguese, who surrender their Post at Ganoor. Details of the Conflict which ensued between Don John and Raja Singa; the last totally routed; Circumstances of his Death, his Inquietudes of Conscience, Expedients to ap-*

pease. Janiere Bandara, a new Competitor with Don John for the Sovereignty of the Island. The former obtains the Assistance of the Portuguese, to whom he surrenders his Independence. Their united Efforts. Don Pedro de Sousa sent to Ceylon. Don John, routed by the Portuguese, compelled to hide himself in a Wood. The Portuguese favour the Desire of the Singalese to have Donna Catharina, Daughter of Darma Palla Raja, for their Sovereign. She is sent for from Manaar. Inauspicious Commencement of her Journey. Her Entrance into Candy; her magnificent Coronation. A Price set upon the Head of Don John; daring Conduct of that Chief: the Insolence and Injustice of the Portuguese; they elude the Proposition of their Creature Janiere to marry Donna Catharina. Violence of his Resentment. An Interview with Don Pedro de Sousa. Janiere dissembles, but secretly corresponds with Don John; they agree to exterminate the Portuguese. The Portuguese discover the Plot; they resolve to assassinate Janiere; Mode in which they effected their Purpose.

IN the year 1505 Francisco d'Almeyda, viceroy of Goa, sent his son Laurence, or Lorenzo, with a fleet of nine sail, in order that he might fall in with some Moorish vessels which were passing by the Maldives. But this commander, instead of reaching the place of his destination, was driven by the wind to the coast of Ceylon, of which he thus, accidentally, effected the important discovery. The country appears at this time to have been divided into several kingdoms, the sovereigns of which were more or less dependent upon an emperor, but amongst whom there prevailed, at this period, the most violent dissensions and the most sanguinary feuds.*

* There are said to have been in ancient times no less than sixteen kings in Ceylon, who were wont to meet once a year to celebrate a great festival in the town of Sitavaca. The festival was continued for sixteen days, and thus allowed a day and a night of rejoicing to each of the kings with their wives and subjects. At the expiration of this period they brought out of the temple a gold bracelet, on which sixteen heads were engraved, representing the above-mentioned sovereignties. This was presented by the priest to the emperor, as a token of homage and service on the part of the other chiefs. The oldest of these kings was often chosen as the emperor; but his power did not much diminish the independence of the rest. By degrees, however, this choice of a superior fell into disuse; and the emperor found means to extend and to perpetuate his power, when the yearly meeting at

Don Lorenzo first cast anchor in the bay of Galle, which was then under the government of a particular chieftain or king, who sent an ambassador to him in the name of the emperor with a proffer of amity. This led to a treaty of alliance,* in which it was stipulated, that the Singalese monarch should pay to Emanuel, King of Portugal, an annual tribute of 250,000 lbs. weight of cinnamon. His Portuguese majesty was, on the other hand, to defend the emperor against all his enemies. In commemoration of this event, and no doubt with an intention to signify the subjection of the island to the Portuguese, Don Lorenzo erected upon the spot a marble pillar, on which were engraven the arms of Portugal.

In 1518 Lopez Suaar Alvarenga sailed to Ceylon with a fleet of nineteen ships, when he proceeded to erect a fort, according to orders which had been received from King Emanuel, and to a permission which had been obtained from the emperor. But the emperor had either never given such permission, or soon repented of the grant; for it was not long before some of the Singalese, who attempted to impede the progress of the work, were killed in a fray with the Portuguese.

Alvarenga was not to be appeased by a verbal apology for this outrage. Nor could he endure that his sovereign should be insulted by a black king. He accordingly attacked the Singalese with such energy, that they were compelled to accept of peace upon the following conditions:

1. That the Portuguese should be at liberty to erect a fort at Columbo.

2. That the emperor should pay to King Emanuel an annual tribute of a certain number of precious stones, with six elephants, and 120,000 lbs. of cinnamon.

Sitavaca was imposed as a mark of subjection to a paramount lord. See Extract uyt de consideratien van der Heer Van Rheed over Ceylon. c. xxii. Valentyn, p. 274.

* Valentyn, V. p. 90.

The first fort, which the Portuguese erected at Columbo, was a composition of clay and stone; but in 1520 they constructed fortifications of a more regular and solid kind. When these were finished, the Portuguese, presuming on their strength, committed various acts of violence upon the natives, which revived the late animosities, and caused acts of retaliation. The Singalese were so incensed, that they put to death every Portuguese that came in their way. The commander, whose name was Lopez Brit, for a time connived at these proceedings; but he afterwards fell upon the Singalese, and put them to flight. They returned, however, to the charge; and, after collecting a numerous host of 20,000 men, they invested the fortress at Columbo, and kept it besieged for the space of five months.

The Portuguese commander, Brit, who was a man of great courage, but whose inconsiderate facility had suffered his own people to involve him in these difficulties, sent a messenger to Cochin to inform the viceroy of his perilous situation. The viceroy accordingly sent to his aid Jacob Lopez Siqueira in a galley with fifty Portuguese. Upon receiving this little accession to his force, the brave Brit, who was on the point of perishing by famine, sallied forth at the head of 300 Portuguese, made himself master of the works of the enemy, and gave them such a signal overthrow, that the emperor was compelled once more to sue for peace. This Brit granted with the less reluctance, as he knew that his own people had been the aggressors in the late troubles; but he took care that they should treat the Singalese with more justice for the time to come.

In 1524, Emanuel, King of Portugal, gave orders to Ferdinand Gomes de Leme to destroy the fort at Columbo. Gomes afterwards left only a factor, a secretary, and fifteen Portuguese upon the island. A Moorish chieftain on the coast of Malabar, having learned that only these few Portuguese remained upon the island, and that he could easily get them into his power, accordingly set sail for Ceylon with 500 men in four

ships. With this force he entered the bay of Columbo, when he informed the Emperor of Cotta that a general attack had been made upon the Portuguese throughout all their settlements in India, and that he had been sent on purpose to carry off all the people of that nation who had been left at this spot.

The Emperor of Cotta, who was embarrassed by this intelligence, was assured by the heads of the Portuguese factory that it was all false; and, if it were true, he had no power to comply with the demand. The emperor accordingly ordered the Moors to depart; but not satisfied with this determination, they made an attempt to carry off the Portuguese by force, but experienced such a vigorous repulse, that they abandoned the undertaking in disgrace.

A new fortress must about this period have been erected at Columbo, instead of that which King Emanuel had ordered to be demolished, though the Portuguese writers make no mention of the circumstance. It is certain that the Portuguese were now firmly established at Columbo, and that they constantly supported the interest of the Emperor Darma Praccaram Bahu, who is otherwise called Abu-Negabo Bandara, and who mounted the throne in 1536. This prince thought it expedient to place his grandson Parea Bandara, or Darmapalla, under the protection of the King of Portugal; and for this purpose he sent two messengers to that kingdom, along with a statue of the young prince, and a crown of gold. His Portuguese majesty was requested to place the crown upon the head of the statue; and this ceremony was accordingly performed with much pomp and magnificence in the great hall of Lisbon in the year 1541.

After the death of Darma Praccarum Bahu, the prince, whose statue had previously received the above-mentioned royal honours, succeeded to the power and dominions of his grandfather; but he experienced such a powerful enemy in Raja Singa, the King of Sitavaca, that he was com-

pelled to fly from Candy, and take refuge at Columbo. Raja Singa accordingly made himself master not only of the kingdom of Cotta, but of that of Candy, where he afterwards practised the greatest oppression and the most revolting barbarities both upon the nobles and the people. These cruelties appear to have originated in the feeling of revenge. The Candians had taken part in the rebellion of one of Raja Singa's chiefs, named Fimala Lamantia, who had revolted against him, and, for some time, defied his power.* But what Raja Singa could not effect by force he accomplished by art. He made a treaty with his enemy on conditions that seemed very favourable to his ambitious views. Fimala Lamantia was hence induced to trust himself in the power of Raja Singa, who had him instantly arrested. He was afterwards ordered to be buried in the earth up to his head, which was left above ground and beaten with clubs till he expired.

A son of Fimala Lamantia had been previously sent by the Portuguese to Columbo, and thence to Goa, where he was instructed in the Roman Catholic religion, and baptized by the name of Don John, after Don John of Austria, brother of Philip the Second, King of Castille and Portugal. This Don John, as we shall afterwards find, makes some figure in the history of the Singalese.

The people of Candy, who were very much disaffected to Raja Singa, determined to form a union with the Portuguese, in order to destroy his tyranny. The Portuguese themselves were well disposed to comply with their wishes, as they hoped by this means to obtain possession of Candy, and to become masters of the whole island.

The Portuguese, however, after much deliberation, judged that, in order to obtain the object of their ambition, it was first requisite that

* This Fimala Lamantia, or, as it is otherwise written, Fimala Mantra, had been appointed Governor of Candy by Raja Singa; and the Candians had chosen him for their emperor, when he assumed the title of Fimala Darma Suria Adassyn, but his reign was short and his end miserable.

they should accomplish the conquest of Jaffnapatam. They accordingly sent a powerful fleet to that part of the island, under the command of Don Andrea Furtado de Mendoza, who made himself master of the kingdom by surprise, and forced the inhabitants to allow him to march as many troops as he pleased through their country to Candy; and the King of Jaffnapatam moreover stipulated to furnish them with all the aid in his power to further the execution of the project.

The people of Candy, who had not yet entered into any actual treaty with the Portuguese, when they heard that they had become masters of Jaffnapatam, were, at first, seized with considerable alarm. In order to allay this ferment, and to quiet their apprehensions, the Portuguese admiral resolved to dispatch to Candy, Don John; and Don Philippo,* a Singalese prince, who had also received Christian baptism from the hands of the Portuguese.

In addition to this measure, Don Andrea Furtado de Mendoza had resolved to set up Don Philippo as Emperor of Ceylon, to appoint Don John the general of his army; and also to enter into a treaty with the people of Candy to carry on hostilities against Raja Singa with their united forces.

Raja Singa, hearing of these movements, directed his march to another part of the island, without entertaining any apprehensions from the people of Candy, whom he had previously disarmed. But the Candians had secretly provided themselves with bows and arrows, which they had concealed in their houses. This intelligence induced Raja Singa to retrace his steps towards Candy; but, before his arrival, he found that the Portuguese had made themselves masters of the place, where they invested Don Philippo with the crown; and, at the

* Don Philippo was the son of Bandaar Raja, a prince of Cotta. He had been brought up by the Portuguese from a child.

same time, made Don John the commander-in-chief of the forces. But the Portuguese did not omit to stipulate, that these two princes, along with persons instructed by them in their faith, should enter into an engagement to marry none but Portuguese women; and that the people of Candy should take a solemn oath of obedience and fealty to the King of Portugal.

Don John, whose ambitious expectations had been disappointed by the elevation of Don Philippo to the crown, was greatly incensed against his rival; but still more violently against the Portuguese, by whom he thought that he had been treated with perfidy and ingratitude. But he concealed these sentiments of aversion in his breast, till a fit opportunity arrived for accomplishing the projects of vengeance which he entertained.

The town of Candy, which had suffered much from the ravages of Raja Singa, was repaired, strengthened, and embellished for the accommodation of the new emperor; whilst Don John, whose rancour was never dormant, consulted with a magician about the best mode of getting rid of his royal adversary. The prophetic sage recommended poison as the most advisable expedient.

When the Portuguese conducted the Emperor Don Philippo in state to his capital, he was welcomed into his palace by the acclamations of his subjects, and with every outward mark of respect and attachment. The Portuguese themselves, imagining that every thing was now settled on a footing of durable tranquillity, took their departure from the city, in order to watch the motions of Raja Singa, and free the Singalese from all apprehensions on that account.

Don John, judging the departure of the Portuguese a favourable moment for the perpetration of the horrid purpose which he meditated, lost no time in administering poison to his sovereign; and, not having pa-

tience to wait till it took effect, he repeated the dose with increased potency, when the unfortunate monarch immediately expired.*

The party of the successful usurper was soon joined by a considerable number of adherents, whom he allured by the most magnificent promises; and had the art to render himself much beloved by the Singalese. The Portuguese, who were encamped at Ganoor, beheld these proceedings with considerable anxiety, and began to regard the ambition of Don John as an object of serious alarm. They immediately dispatched an account of what had passed to Don John de Melo, the commander of the forces at Manaar, urging him, by repeated messengers, to send immediate succours, or their retreat would probably be cut off, and they would be placed in the most critical situation.

Don John, having prevailed upon the Singalese, or, at least, the people of Candy, to choose him for their emperor, he threw off the mask of friendship which he had hitherto professed for the Portuguese, and sent them peremptory orders to depart from their present situation within five or six days, or he would put them all to the sword. He upbraided them with their flagrant acts of perfidy and insincerity; and said that the only object of their policy was to make themselves masters of the lives and fortunes of the Singalese. He had, therefore, resolved, that not one of them should be suffered to remain in his dominions.

The Portuguese, who were posted at Ganoor, were not strong enough to make any effectual resistance to the above imperious mandate; and, despairing of assistance, they surrendered the fortress, and marched out with their side-arms, which was all that they were suffered to carry away.

On the following day, Don John de Melo arrived with reinforcements,

* "Waar van hy ten eersten quam te bersten." Valentyn.

but it was too late to recover what had been lost. Some of the Portuguese remained at Candy in the service of the usurper.

Raja Singa, in the mean time, having rapidly assembled his forces at Sitavaca, began his march upon Candy, where he determined at once to chastise both Don John and the inhabitants for their late rebellion against his authority. When Don John received this intelligence, and reflected that he was deprived of the aid of the Portuguese, he felt considerable alarm, particularly when he heard that the army of Raja Singa had arrived in the province of the four Corles. He hastened, however, to meet him with all the force that he could bring together. The two armies came in sight of each other at Walane, where Raja Singa told his adversary to expect the fate of his father, whom he had cut in pieces. Don John replied, that, if his father had been as conscious of his perfidy as he was, he would never have been the victim of his cruelty.

Don John moreover acquainted his adversary, that he entertained no doubt but that he should be able to inflict ample vengeance on the man who had put his father to such a cruel death. Raja Singa, enraged by this message, immediately gave orders for his army to advance. But he was much more disconcerted, when he learned that Don John, more brave than he, was already in motion for the encounter.

Don John himself soon appeared in sight with the Singalese ensigns of imperial power, two white umbrellas held over his head: when he made such a furious attack upon his adversary, that he fled with precipitation at the end of half an hour. Raja Singa took this unexpected and ignominious defeat so much to heart, that, in a moment of rage, he ran a sharp thorn into his foot, which brought on a mortification, of which he died. He had reached the great age of 120 years.*

* The Singalese are said to be long-lived, and often to preserve their strength and faculties in a sort of green old age. The above-mentioned monarch seems to have been an instance of this remark. There seems no reason to disbelieve the account which is given of his age; and the age of

As he became conscious of approaching death, he is said to have expressed deep regret for the different cruelties which he had committed upon the inhabitants of Candy, and particularly for those which he had afterwards perpetrated upon all the priests whom he could get into his power. But, before this period, he had caused almost all his nearest relations to be massacred. His father, his uncle, his mother-in-law, and his three brothers, who were born in wedlock,* were all put to death by his orders.

Oppressed by the recollection of these monstrous cruelties, he sent for the priests of Daldowanse to attend him before he left the world. He asked these ghostly counsellors, if such a man as he had been, might hope for pardon for his sins. The priests, with more uncourteous honesty than is usual on such occasions, particularly in the chamber of dying kings, replied, "that he could not hope to be forgiven."

The monarch, who had expected a softer answer, was so enraged by their presumption, or want of loyalty as he termed it, that he ordered them all, with the exception of the chief priest, to be shut up in a house and burnt alive.

After making this addition to his stock of impieties, the monarch sent for the priests of another pagoda, of whom he asked the same important question. But they, warned by the fate of their brethren, gave an answer of a more soothing kind. They said that such a sinner could hope for no forgiveness if he did not repent, but that, as his majesty had felt contrition for his enormities, they would bring

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a king may in general be much more easily authenticated than that of any other man. The Portuguese were well acquainted with Raja Singa, with the circumstances of his life, and the vicissitudes of his history. We are now come to a period, when the events of the Singalese annals, by being incorporated more with those of Europeans, may be better ascertained. See Valentyn, 5. p. 94.

* Raja Singa was a king's son, but not by a legitimate bed. His mother was a dancing girl. The Portuguese say that he was a barber; but this is a calumny.

it to pass by the force of their prayers, that, after death, instead of being tormented by devils, he should be permitted to sojourn in some intermediate region between heaven and earth.

This answer served to compose the guilty inquietudes of the dying king; and he not only permitted those, who had given it, to live, but loaded them with presents, which they refused to receive. He requested them also not to think of the massacre of their brethren, which he had ordered in a paroxysm of rage. Upon receiving an assurance of their forgiveness, he soon after gave up the ghost.*

Don John, having heard of the death of Raja Singa, lost no time in concerting measures to render himself master of the whole island. But he found an enemy to his views in Xavier Wandaar, or, according to others Janiere Bandara, the secretary of his deceased rival. This Janiere, having obtained possession of all his master's treasure, entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, to whom he surrendered the whole kingdom; as he perceived that, without their assistance, he could not maintain himself against the opposition of Don John.

The Portuguese, elated with the prospect of becoming masters of the whole island, lost no time in sending to the viceroy of Goa intelligence of Raja Singa's death, and of the treaty into which they had entered with Janiere, requesting immediate and powerful reinforcements, in order that they might be able to repress the designs of Don John, and annex the dominion of the whole island to the crown of Portugal.

* The above Raja Singa, though a monster of iniquity, appears from the Singalese annals to have had some taste for literature, and to have patronized men of genius. For, we find that, during his reign, a great sage, named Vidumal, came from the coast of Malabar on purpose to pay his respects at the court of this sovereign. Raja Singa received his learned guest with great hospitality, showed him marked attention, and conferred upon him the honourable title of Manaperuma Mucavetie, or the Prince of the Poets. He made him also a Dessave or governor of a province; when he settled with his family in the dominions of his munificent benefactor. See Valentyn, p. 82.

In order to accomplish this purpose, Don Pedro de Sousa, in 1590, was sent to Ceylon with all the troops which the viceroy could spare, consisting of 1250 whites, besides mestizis and blacks. Before the reinforcement arrived, Janiere had already made himself master of all the low country, with the assistance of the Portuguese garrisons at Galle and Columbo. Don John, who was encamped at Walane, beheld the progress of the enemy in this quarter with great dissatisfaction, but he was so far from being able to prevent it, that he began to entertain serious apprehensions of danger to himself, from the union of the Portuguese troops, with those of the Singalese chiefs, who had armed against him.

Don Pedro, finding that the low lands had been already conquered, and thinking that little was left for him to do, was on the point of returning to Goa; but he was induced to desist from this precipitate resolution, upon the representation of the principal people, that he ought first to achieve the conquest of Candy, where the richest booty would reward his toils.

In the mean time Janiere had contrived to bring into the field an army of 151086* men, provided with seventy-five war elephants, and 1000 without teeth, a great body of coolies or porters, and a considerable number of baggage oxen. The army of Don Pedro consisted of 1474 whites, 1280 mestizis, 1224 natives or Singalese, forty-seven war elephants, and 20,000 oxen.

Don John, who could not muster more than 30, or 40,000 men, marched boldly to the conflict, with the superior force of the enemy; but the Portuguese attacked him with so much fury, and followed up their first success with such unremitting vigour, that Don John was compelled to hide himself in a wood along with his queen, where they subsisted on the wild roots and plants, which the place supplied.

* This is the force mentioned by Valentyn; but there is probably some mistake in the number.

The Portuguese, who had thus become masters of the country, began to require that the Singalese should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal; but the Singalese themselves manifested such a strong inclination to have Donna Catharina, who was a daughter of their lawful Emperor Mahadassyn, or Darma Palla Raja, for their sovereign, that Don Pedro de Sousa, the commander of the Portuguese troops, was disposed to accede to the proposition. He consulted Janiere, who was commonly called king, upon the subject. Janiere, representing the services which he had rendered to the Portuguese, requested that he might be permitted to have the princess for his wife.

A considerable escort was accordingly dispatched, in order to bring the princess from her residence at Manaar. When every thing was ready for her departure, she got into a sumptuous palanquin, that had been prepared for her journey to Candy. But she had hardly been lifted up from the ground, when the bamboo poles, to which the vehicle was attached, broke in pieces. The princess, whose mind had not been divested of its superstitious tendencies by her Christian instructors, considered this as such an ill-omened commencement of her expedition, that she refused to proceed. Every argument was employed to persuade her that this was a mere fortuitous occurrence, which was totally beneath the consideration of one who had embraced the Christian faith. Her attendants moreover affirmed, that they would answer for her safe arrival at Candy. Upon these earnest solicitations and positive assurances, she at last consented to resume her seat in the palanquin, and arrived at Candy in eight days after her departure from Manaar.

Don Pedro, who had gone out to meet her with a large train of his principal officers and attendants, threw himself, with great reverence, at her feet, and warmly congratulated her on her safe journey and happy prospects. The native chiefs and nobles of Ceylon, according to their mode of shewing homage, prostrated themselves before her, with their faces flat upon the ground. She then returned to the pa-

lanquin, from which she had alighted, and was conveyed into the capital in splendid procession, whilst money was scattered amongst the people. After an interval of three days, she was crowned with great magnificence, and the ceremony is said to have cost no less than nineteen and a half tons of gold, which the treasures of Raja Singa were ransacked to supply.

When Donna Catharina had been thus elevated to her father's throne, with the universal consent of the Singalese, the country seemed likely to enjoy a period of profound peace; and all the subordinate kings and chiefs returned to their homes.

Don Pedro de Sousa, the Portuguese general, offered a reward of ten thousand pagodas for the head of Don John. But Don John was so little alarmed by this circumstance, that he occasionally came into Candy in the disguise of a beggar. At night he would set fire to the town in different places, without any body being able to discover the author; and, he was so expert in his machinations, that, whilst the people were employed in extinguishing it in one part, he contrived to kindle the flame in another.

The period of tranquillity, which late events seemed to promise, was not of long continuance. The Portuguese, elated with the idea of their prowess, and thinking their power irresistible, began to manifest their contempt of the Singalese, in numerous acts of injustice and oppression. Various complaints of their conduct were laid before the empress, who being very young and inexperienced, could afford them little protection or redress. They accordingly resolved to procure what satisfaction they could for themselves; and began to cut off the supplies of the Portuguese.

Don Pedro and Janiere perceived the storm that was gathering, but had not the virtue or the prudence to avert it, by changing that system

of measures by which it had been produced. They endeavoured to intimidate by an ostentation of power, without, at the same time, labouring to conciliate by justice and humanity. They sent a force of 2000 Singalese and 1000 Portuguese troops into the principality of Uva; and 2005 native, and 200 European troops, into another part of the country called Laleluja,* in order to obtain a supply of rice. Though they were every where tolerably well received, they every where exhibited the most revolting scenes of outrage and oppression. The wives and daughters of the people were compelled to be the victims of their brutal passions; whilst those, who made any resistance to such acts of violence, were butchered by these merciless robbers, and had their villages burnt to the ground. The Singalese, exasperated by these enormities, secretly determined to make their persecutors feel the effects of their vengeance, upon the first favourable opportunity.

King Janiere Bandare at this time became very urgent in his solicitations to Don Pedro, to give him the hand of the Empress Donna Catharina in marriage, which the Portuguese commander refused, under the pretext, that it would be first necessary for him to write home, in order to procure the consent of the King of Portugal, without which he could not presume to give his own.

Janiere, who did not want sagacity to penetrate the reason of this insidious excuse, next requested of Don Pedro the hand of his sister's daughter, in which he also experienced a refusal. Incensed by this ungracious opposition to his aspiring hopes and fondest wishes, he scornfully asked the Portuguese general, if this was the reward of all his faithful services? At the same time declaring with an oath, that he should repent of the denial which he had given to his two requests. Don Pedro, observing the

* Valentyn, 5. p. 96.

mortified ambition of the Singalese chief, answered him in a way which inflamed his pride, and aggravated his resentment, saying, "It was not meet, that one, who was an empress born, should be given in marriage to an upstart king." Janiere deeply felt the bitter taunt, but repressing what he felt, he only replied, "That he could see through the designs of the Portuguese; and that, after having availed themselves of his assistance, to become masters of the island, they had determined to trample him under foot, but that the event would not correspond with their expectations." And, as if what he had just said, had been only the effect of momentary dissatisfaction, he terminated the interview with the most profound dissimulation. He reverted to other subjects, in order to induce a belief that what had passed had made but little impression on his mind, and would soon vanish from his thoughts.

But, the very same evening, he dispatched a messenger to Don John, who was still concealed in the woods, watching for a favourable opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the Portuguese, of which this communication of Janiere seemed to promise the speedy accomplishment. Janiere gave a circumstantial account of all that had passed between him and Don Pedro; invited Don John to aspire to the title of emperor; and promised to assist him in that enterprise, upon the condition that he should be king of the low lands, under his superior authority.

Don John, who little expected such a communication, agreed to all that Janiere had proposed. They accordingly entered into a treaty, in which they determined entirely to shake off the yoke of the Portuguese, and to put them all to death.

Don John now began to shew himself with less reserve, particularly to the people of Candy. He employed every means to augment their ill will, and exasperate their vengeance against the Portuguese, while he

represented his elevation to the sceptre as the surest expedient to which they could have recourse, in order to deliver themselves from the insolent tyranny by which they were oppressed.

Janiere now gradually disclosed to his friends and partizans the engagements into which he had entered with Don John; but these intentions were not long kept secret from their enemies. The Portuguese had intercepted some letters of Janiere's, from which they discovered the plot that was hatching against them, and the critical situation in which they were placed. Don Pedro de Sousa saw clearly that he must either procure the hand of the Empress Donna Catharina in marriage for Janiere, or risk the loss of the island.

In a council of war, which the Portuguese held upon the subject, there was a great discordancy of opinion. Some were in favour of the marriage, others against it; a third party were for procuring Don John, or Janiere, to be assassinated; but the majority resolved, that the safest expedient was to get Janiere dispatched as soon as possible: and, in order to afford a plausible excuse for this violent measure, to give out that letters had been intercepted, in which he had expressed his resolution to take away the lives both of the empress and the commander of the Portuguese.

The opportunity selected for this purpose was an interview between Janiere and Don Pedro. In the course of conversation, the Portuguese commander requested permission to see the cross which Janiere wore, that he might give orders to have one made like it, and set with precious stones. Janiere, suspecting no evil, complied without any hesitation with Don Pedro's request, who professing to be particularly struck with the splendour and beauty of the cross, solicited the favour of retaining it for some time, till he could procure one to be made of a similar form.

Janiere had no sooner assented to this request, than, on a signal being given by Don Pedro, a poniard was plunged into his breast, and he was treacherously assassinated along with several of his suite. His guard, on hearing that their king had been murdered, raised a shriek of horror and indignation; but no attempt at retaliation was made, and all the Singalese, except the King of Cotta, fled with precipitation.

CHAP. VI.

The Empress Donna Catharina informed of Janiere's Assassination: her Prediction of its Consequences. Don John takes advantage of this favourable Juncture. Candy abandoned by the Portuguese; they take Post at Ganoor; fly to Walane. Don John attacks them in their Retreat; obtains a signal Victory. Death of Don Pedro. Don John follows up his Success; general Submission to his Power. He marries the Empress Donna Catharina; attends to the internal Improvement and Security of his Dominions. The Portuguese send Succours to Ceylon under the Command of Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo He commences his March to Candy, but is met by Don John on the Way, and suffers a severe Defeat. Dominicus Correa goes over to Don John, who sends him with an Army against Galle, where he is routed, made Prisoner, and perfidiously put to Death. Manner in which Don John avenged his Death. The Soldiers at Columbo Mutiny against Don d'Oviedo; his narrow escape from Assassination. Manuel Dias, a Candian Spy, in order to deceive the Portuguese, feigns a design to Assassinate Don John. The Portuguese caught in the Snare; the Consequences of their credulity. Manuel Dias greatly rewarded for his Services.

THE Portuguese conveyed immediate intelligence of Janiere's death to the empress; who, however, expressed no satisfaction at the crime, and foretold that it would prove the occasion of their fall, as the event shewed. The Singalese, who had previously sufficient cause of discontent, were now more than ever enraged; for, if kings were treated with so much barbarity, what lenity had the people to expect?

Don John, who knew how to turn events to his own advantage, found this conjuncture very favourable to his views. He every where summoned the people to avenge the cruelty and perfidy of the Portu-

guese. He himself rapidly assembled a large force, and marched towards Candy, from which the Portuguese, not daring to make a stand, fled to Ganoor. From this fortress they sent numerous messengers to hasten succours from Columbo. Many of these were intercepted on their route by the Singalese, who, in revenge for the cruelties perpetrated upon their wives and daughters, cut off their noses, ears, and other members, and sent them back in this state of suffering to their friends and companions, in order to shew them what treatment they might expect if they fell into the hands of the Singalese.

The Portuguese, in a state of the utmost consternation, left Ganoor, and fled to Walane, setting every thing on fire in their rear, in order as much as possible to impede pursuit. This event happened on a Sunday, in the year 1593, when Don John, informed of their flight, surrounded them in their retreat, and attacked them with so much fury, that the Portuguese, though they fought with the utmost desperation, experienced a total route.

Besides many who were slain, a great many persons of distinction were made prisoners; amongst whom were Don Pedro, with his son, and the Empress Donna Catharina, as well as numerous Portuguese officers and Singalese chiefs, who had espoused the party of the empress.

Don Pedro, who had been severely wounded in the battle, did not survive this catastrophe more than three days. A little before his death, he earnestly recommended his son to the compassion of Don John, who promised to send him to Columbo by the first opportunity; a promise which, to the general astonishment, he faithfully performed.

Don John, who had obtained a large and seasonable supply of arms and ammunition by this brilliant victory, followed up his success with unremitting activity. In a short time he obtained possession of all the Portuguese fortresses, except those of Columbo and of Galle. He made

himself master of some by force of arms, in which case he put the whole garrison to the sword; and of others by capitulation, when he behaved with more humanity and moderation. His power seemed so irresistible, and so well established, that all the petty kings of the country submitted to his authority. With the most abject humility they went out to meet him at his approach with numerous presents, when they prostrated themselves before him upon the earth, holding their hands above their heads, in sign of the most unlimited submission to his will. They called Heaven to witness, that all which they had previously done against him was owing to the compulsion of the Portuguese; upon which assurance he received them into his favour, as he knew that they had never served those insolent masters either from affection or from choice.

When Don John had thus become paramount over the whole island, he still considered it a prudent policy, in order to remove all question about his title, to marry the Empress Donna Catharina. No magnificence was spared in the celebration of this event. The nuptial feast was continued for a hundred and ten days, in the celebration of which, the costly presents of individuals are reckoned to have amounted to 968,754 pagodas.

Don John had now some leisure to attend to works of internal security, and of regal state. He made three noble fortresses, and erected a new palace with strong bulwarks, besides many other fair buildings, in the construction of which he forced his Portuguese prisoners to labour as slaves, whilst, in token of his triumph, their conquered banners were seen waving on his flag-staffs and bulwarks.

Don John now enjoyed an interval of repose, without any hindrance from the Portuguese, who had been too much crippled by their late disasters for offensive operations. But when intelligence reached Goa that Don Pedro had experienced a dreadful overthrow, and was since dead of his wounds, the viceroy, after a long interval of deliberation, thought

it advisable to send to Ceylon a large force of Portuguese and auxiliaries, under the command of Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo, or, according to others, d'Azevedo.

These reinforcements did not reach Ceylon till three or four years after the signal overthrow of the Portuguese. Upon his arrival in the island, Don Jeronimo exerted all his power to recover that footing in the island which the folly and temerity of his countrymen had lost. For this purpose he spared no pains to bring over the chiefs and princes of the low lands. He operated upon the minds of some by corruption, and upon those of others by fear; and he lost no time in restoring the strong places which Don John had demolished.

Don John himself did not remain inactive whilst this storm was gathering, that threatened the security of his power. The Portuguese general had taken post at Walane, whence he intended to proceed to Candy; after the conquest of which place he had determined to erect impregnable fortresses at Trikenam and in Palugam. But Don John did not leave his adversary time for the execution of these resolves; for, having come up with him at Walane, he immediately offered him battle, which Don Jeronimo did not think proper to refuse. The conflict between the two armies was begun with great fury, and maintained with persevering violence. For a long time victory hung in suspense between the combatants; but, at last, it declared in favour of the Singalese chief, who put his European foe to the route, and pursued him for five days, on his way to Columbo. Don Jeronimo, however, appears to have performed the part of a brave and skilful commander; for most of his troops arrived in good order at their place of destination. But he lost many of his principal officers in the battle, and was himself severely wounded; and, at one period, if he had not been concealed by the friendship of one of the native chiefs, he must have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

About this time Dominicus Correa, who had been treated with great barbarity by the Portuguese, went over to Don John, who gave him a very friendly reception, honoured him with the title of prince, and appointed him to the command of an army, which he sent against Galle. Here he was routed, and made prisoner by the Portuguese; who, contrary to a solemn assurance which they had given, perfidiously put him to death at Columbo. Upon this Don John ordered several of his Portuguese captives to be trodden to death by an elephant, and others, after having their noses and ears cut off, and being otherwise dreadfully mutilated, to be sent back to Columbo, with a message, demanding the release of the other Singalese prisoners who were there confined, or threatening, in case of a refusal, that the like vengeance should be inflicted upon all the Portuguese.

The soldiers at Columbo, who were informed of these threats, and observed the miserable looks and mutilated forms of their companions, threatened to put Don Oviedo to death, as the cause of all these calamities. A body of soldiers rushed upon him with their daggers, and, notwithstanding his loud and pitiful appeals to the mercy of his senhores soldados, or gentlemen soldiers, they would certainly have executed their ferocious purpose, if some priests, at the danger of their own lives, had not thrown themselves between him and his adversaries, and thus afforded the terrified general an opportunity to escape.

A Modelaar, named Manuel Dias, of great consideration in Candy, and who had formerly served in the army of the Portuguese chief, Don Pedro, was at this time in high favour at the court of Don John. This adventurer, in order the more effectually to deceive the Portuguese, feigned that he had formed a scheme for assassinating Don John, the means of effecting which he had come to propose to Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo. This proposition rendered him a very welcome visitor to the Portuguese, who were thus induced, instead of distrusting his sincerity, to place implicit confidence in every thing he said.

With five Portuguese, the principal of whom were Christian Jacobo, Alberto Primeiro, and Gaspar Pereyra, the artful traitor departed for Candy. They were to give themselves out as deserters, in order to find an opportunity of assassinating the emperor, whilst Manuel Dias, if the plot succeeded, was to have his head adorned with the Candian crown.

A great sum of money was given to Manuel Dias for the intelligence he had communicated, and the service he was going to perform. Before they set out, both the treacherous principal and his deluded accomplices took an oath of secrecy upon a silver cross. After this Manuel proceeded to Walane, and thence to Candy, where he made the emperor acquainted with the imposition which he had practised upon the Portuguese at Columbo. He informed his majesty, that some of their troops were hovering round Walane, in order to surprise that fortress, as soon as they received intelligence of his assassination.

In order to catch his adversaries in their own snare, Don John proceeded by night with some picked troops to Walane, where he lay concealed till the arrival of the five abovementioned Portuguese emissaries from Columbo. When these persons reached the town, they were received with great apparent cordiality by Manuel Dias, who had them immediately made prisoners, and hurried before the emperor. The concerted signal was then fired from the fortress for the other Portuguese, who were without the walls, to approach as soon as possible; but they had casually received some previous intimation of what had been transacting in the fort; and they accordingly made a precipitate retreat to Columbo, leaving behind them all their baggage and stores.

This piece of service brought Manuel Dias into such great favour with the emperor, that he made him his prime minister, and loaded him with honours; which this monster of perfidy seemed ambitious to deserve, by the torturing death which, after a long imprisonment, he inflicted upon the Portuguese prisoners, who were the victims of his artifice.

CHAP. VII.

The Dutch Admiral Spilbergen sails from Holland, arrives at Baticalo in 1602. The favourable Reception he experienced; Detail of his first interviews with the King; suspected of being a Portuguese. The King of Baticalo increases his Troops upon the Coast. The Dutch repeatedly disappointed in the Completion of their Lading. Spilbergen suspects Treachery. Means which he employs to elude the Machinations of the Singalese. He writes to the King, who sends back some Portuguese, whom he had detained, with professions of Amity. Spilbergen sends an Officer to the Emperor at Candy, who desires to see the Admiral in that Place. Spilbergen sets out for Candy; his Treatment on the Way. Vintana described. An Order of yellow Monks; various Particulars respecting. Gracious Reception of Spilbergen at Candy. Details of his several Audiences of the Emperor. Spilbergen permitted to inspect the Emperor's Pagodas; Dialogue after this Inspection between the Admiral and the Emperor. Spilbergen present at a magnificent Entertainment in the Palace; he sends the Emperor a Portrait of the Prince of Orange; the Emperor's desire to obtain information respecting the Dutch, and other European Nations. His singular condescension to Spilbergen. He offers Permission to the Dutch to build a Fort in any Part of his Dominions. The Admiral leaves Two of his Musicians with the Emperor; he departs from Candy with extraordinary Marks of the Emperor's Regard. Spilbergen returns on Board his Ship; visited by Manuel Dias. He captures three Vessels belonging to the Portuguese; sails from Baticalo. His wise Conduct.

I AM now arrived at the period when the Dutch or Hollanders first made their appearance in Ceylon, where they gradually supplanted and finally expelled the Portuguese. The brave Admiral Spilbergen sailed from Holland on the 5th of May, 1601, with three ships, called the Ram, the Sheep, and the Lamb. On the 26th of May, 1602, he doubled Cape Comorin, with only two of these ships, as he had parted company

with the Ram, commanded by Guyon Le Fort, on the 24th of December, 1601, off the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 29th of May, 1602, Spilbergen entered the river of Baticalo. He anchored in a creek, and sent a boat to the land, where there was a village, and a pagoda, with a large grove of cocoa nut trees. Some of the natives left the shore in a prow, in order to speak to the people in the boat. The Dutch enquired after the town of Baticalo, and were informed that it lay more to the north. They made the natives a present of some knives, who promised on the following day to send some people to conduct them to Baticalo.

On the 31st, Spilbergen dispatched a messenger to Baticalo, in order to speak to the King Derma Jangadare. On the first of June some of the Singalese came on board with a Portuguese interpreter, who informed them that they might obtain a sufficient supply of pepper and cinnamon, and that the Modeliaar, who at that time conducted the king's affairs, had desired that the admiral would pay him a friendly visit on shore. About the same time, the messenger who had been sent to the king, returned with news that he had experienced a favourable reception.

The admiral presented the Singalese and their interpreter, who had come on board his ship, with some beautiful glass and other articles, before they returned to the shore. On the following day Spilbergen landed with three or four attendants. As he reached the shore, five elephants stood ready to receive him. By kneeling, and other signs, those noble animals had been taught to testify their respect for the Dutch admiral, whilst they raised some of the Singalese with their trunks from the ground, and placed them on their backs.

Spilbergen was received with great cordiality by the Modeliaar, and, at his departure promised, on the following day, to pay a visit to the King of Baticalo. He accordingly landed again on the 3d of June, when

he took with him, not only a variety of presents for the king, but also a band of musicians with different instruments. At this time a prow made its appearance with a nobleman or chief on board, who had come from a more northern part of the island, where he expressed a great anxiety to see the Dutch, as the desire of profiting by their arrival had excited a general competition along the coast.

Upon the 5th, in the evening, Spilbergen repeated his visit to the king, whom he found attended by a guard of 1400 men. When the admiral returned on board his ship, he related with what state he had been received, and how the most distinguished nobles had conducted him into the royal presence.

His Majesty's body guards all stood in a line with drawn swords, as the admiral approached, and the king also welcomed his arrival with a naked sword in his hand. Spilbergen testified his respect for the monarch by many beautiful presents, and by the performance of some sweet music, at which he expressed great delight. He afterwards directed Spilbergen to be conducted to the house of the Modeliaar, where he and his suite were sumptuously entertained.

On the following day the king sent an order to the Dutch admiral and his attendants, to remain in the house where they had been placed; and towards evening he was carried before the king, when he was strongly accused of being a Portuguese. Spilbergen experienced a good deal of difficulty in convincing them that he belonged to another nation; upon which he was no longer detained as a prisoner, but received permission to go where he pleased. The day after the admiral returned to his ship, and remained on board that night. He now sent another deputation to the court, with more presents, in order to excite the chief to expedite the completion of his lading, which it was promised should be ready in fifteen days. Spilbergen after this went again ashore, in order to have an interview with the king, who now kept constantly

near the coast; and was almost every hour collecting about his person a greater number of troops. Spilbergen again made enquiries about his lading, when the king informed him that he hoped the greater part would be ready in five days; and he requested, in the mean time, that the crew should unload the ship, and bring the goods to land.

The Singalese now pretended that they had sent a number of people and elephants to fetch the cinnamon, and other products; and the Modeliaar accordingly demanded that the Dutch should run the ship ashore: a request which was by no means reasonable in itself, and which caused Spilbergen to suspect that some treachery was meditating, which they were only attempting to gain time, in order the more effectually to execute. He was the more confirmed in his suspicions by the representations of some Moors, who told him that there was little or no pepper in the neighbourhood; and that they were not in the habit of trading in that article.

Spilbergen, finding that he and his companions were cut off from the ship, professed to accede to every demand which they made, even that of running the ship ashore; but for this purpose he required that some of the Singalese, and a pilot, should be sent on board, to assist in the execution. They gave him accordingly a pilot and some men, and permitted Spilbergen to go with them on board, but detained all his attendants on shore. They also demanded four other Portuguese, as hostages for their people. Spilbergen had to assure them again and again that they were not Portuguese, but Hollanders. He now departed for the ship, with eleven Singalese.

As soon as they had reached the ship, he requested their assistance in stowing some barrels and bales in the hold; when as soon as eight of them had gone down, the admiral had the hatches made fast over their heads. Spilbergen now sailed to another place, where, after having made a display of some of the sumptuous commodities which he had on board, he

sent the interpreter on shore, with two Singalese, and told him to inform the King of Baticalo, that as soon as he had released the Dutch, he would send back his people, whom he had retained as hostages; and he directed them, moreover, to relate what costly articles they had seen, which were all designed for his majesty, if he would first supply them with a cargo of cinnamon and pepper.

Spilbergen also wrote a letter to the king, in which he warned him to beware of evil counsellors, and calumniators of their good intentions; and assuring his majesty that he should be amply remunerated for any pepper and cinnamon he might send. The Dutch admiral gave the prince to understand, that he had learned from the Singalese whom he had detained on board, that those, who had required him to run his ship and goods on shore, had no intention to give him any equivalent. He moreover represented, that their persisting in taking him and his crew for Portuguese, in spite of their most solemn assurances to the contrary, could proceed only from a design which they had formed of employing that fiction as a pretext for seizing on the cargo and the ship. The admiral finally declared, that if the king was inclined to act uprightly towards him, he, on his part, was disposed to shew all due honour and friendship to the king. As a proof of his sincerity, Spilbergen sent back the Singalese prisoners, with some presents, at the same time hoisting his colours, and firing a salute, with which mark of respect the king was highly gratified.

On the same day the king dispatched a prow to the admiral, with the interpreter, and a large supply of venison, fowls, butter, and fruit, adding, that he might make what use he pleased of his dominions. He also restored the Portuguese whom he had detained; strongly protested that he had never formed any design of seizing the ship and goods; and requested Spilbergen not to hasten his departure, as he was busy in collecting a supply of pepper; and said that he should have his lading ready in a short time.

After some further procrastination, in which the king found that he could neither perform his promise, nor execute his treachery, Spilbergen discovered that this King of Baticalo was a tributary of the Portuguese; that there was an emperor of the island, whose name was Don John, and who was now adorned with the splendid Singalese title of the Beloved Son of the Sun, or Fimala Darma Suria.

Spilbergen, on hearing that the island was subject to an emperor, had resolved to go himself in person to his court; but he was dissuaded from this measure by the King of Baticalo, who gave an alarming description of the length and difficulties of the way. The admiral therefore resolved, in the first instance, to send an officer to Candy, with presents for the emperor, and to wait till his return, before he determined what further measures to pursue.

In the mean time the admiral had every day numerous offers of precious stones, rubies, topazes, garnets, hyacinths, saphires, cats-eyes, and chrystals; but these were of small size and little value; and his greatest expense was occasioned by the presents which he was obliged to be continually sending to the King of Baticalo.

The admiral's messenger, who had left Baticalo on the fifteenth of June, returned again on the third of July, and gave a favourable account of the friendly reception and hospitable entertainment he had experienced. He also brought a letter to Spilbergen from the emperor, who had ordered two of his people to escort the officer on his return. The names of these two envoys were Gonsalo Rodrigos and Melchior Rebecca. They brought with them some presents of gold rings, with a few large arrows called segonsios, which are esteemed of great value, and considered as marks of distinguished favour to those upon whom they are bestowed. The emperor sent strong assurances of his friendship to the admiral, promised him as good a cargo as it was in his power to procure; and requested that he would not leave the island without paying him a visit at his capital.

The same evening the admiral was cheered by the arrival of the ship Ram, under the command of Guyon le Fort, from which he had been separated on the twenty-fourth of December, near the Cape of Good Hope, and had not since seen.

* It was now resolved that Spilbergen should proceed to Candy, and the rather as he had instructions to that effect from the Governors of the Dutch East India Company and from the Prince of Orange, who had ordered an offer to be made of a strict alliance, both offensive and defensive, between the chief sovereign of the island and the Dutch.

Spilbergen set out upon his journey on the sixth of July, taking with him various presents, and ten companions, amongst whom were some skilful musicians. After leaving the coast, the admiral and his suite were sumptuously entertained by the King of Baticalo, who made them presents of gold rings, and provided them with elephants, coolies, and palanquins. As they proceeded on their way, the whole company were liberally entertained free of all expense.†

When the escort entered the dominions of the emperor, they were met by a Modeliaar, with drums and pipes, who conducted them to a village, where they experienced the usual hospitality; and were placed in an apartment adorned with white hangings, an honour which is shewn only to persons of distinction.

As the admiral approached the town of Vintana, or Bintana, six Mo-

* As the Ram came to an anchor, she fired several salutes in honour of the emperor's envoys, when one of the guns, being overcharged, burst, and the gunner was killed.

† Several writers have remarked the close resemblance between the mode of entertaining ambassadors in Candy and in China. In both countries they are treated throughout as if they formed a part of the royal household, and were, like the domestics of the king, to be maintained at the public expense. The Candian institutions, in some other respects, bear a close resemblance to those of the Chinese. The former are probably a branch from the ancient Chinese.

deliaars came out to meet him, with a large concourse of people, who welcomed him with pipes, drums, horns, and other musical instruments. He was thus conducted to the lodgings which had been prepared for his reception, and hung with white calico.

The town of Vintana is situated on the Mahavala-ganga, where good ships are said to have been built. Besides several beautiful pagodas, which adorned the situation, and gratified the beholder, the admiral found a monastery inhabited by monks, dressed in yellow, who paraded the streets with spacious umbrellas over their heads, and attended by slaves. Their heads were without hair, with the exception of a bunch which was left unshaven on the crown. They had devotional formularies in the hand, which they kept muttering with a sort of busy continuity. The people held them in great veneration; and they were free from all secular toils, and all public impositions.

This monastery, like those which are found in the precincts of the Roman Catholic communion, was provided with various cloisters and galleries, with numerous chapels, gilded ornaments, and images of men and women, who, according to their report, had been patterns of blameless sanctity.

These images were tricked out in tissue of silver and gold; they held lamps in their hands, and wax candles were placed near them upon the altar, which were kept burning night and day. There were also chandeliers, supported by statues of naked children. The monks came every hour to recite their prayers and their breviaries. They also saw them celebrate their religious festivals, and make their processions along the street, in which the high priest appeared mounted upon an elephant, in cloth of silver and gold, and holding a gold staff with both hands over his head. Numerous monks paraded in order before him, to the sound of horns, trumpets, and cymbals, whilst there was a jingle of bells and basons to add to the harmony. Many lamps and torches were also borne in the line, with crowds of spectators, of both sexes.

The most beautiful among the young women were wont, at the commencement and termination of the procession, to display their surprising skill and activity in the dance. They were naked to the waist, with ornaments of gold and precious stones upon their hands and ears, and a richly embroidered petticoat on the lower limbs.

These people were seen every day in the chapels of the pagodas, throwing themselves down upon the earth, with their hands twisted over their heads.

From Vintana the admiral and his suite pursued their route till they came to a village which belonged to the emperor's son, at about a day's journey from Candy. To this place the emperor had sent his own palanquin, richly decorated, along with some elephants; when Spilbergen sent the other palanquins, bearers, &c. back to Vintana. The emperor himself was very liberal and frequent in his presents of provisions, fruits, and wine, made from a grape which he himself had planted in Candy, and which the Dutchmen thought as good as any that is produced in Portugal.

When the admiral arrived at the river, at a short distance from the town of Candy, he was obliged to wait an hour, till the arrival of the chief Modeliaar, Manuel Dias, whom I have mentioned above. This officer came escorted by numerous Portuguese, all of whom had suffered the amputation of their ears, but were now in the service of the court.

Spilbergen was received with great state, and conducted into Candy with a thousand soldiers and eight stand of colours, which had been taken from the Portuguese, whilst a loud concert was made with different musical instruments. He proceeded in this manner, till he reached his lodgings near the palace, where several salutes were fired to welcome his arrival.

When the admiral reached his lodgings he found every thing made ready for his reception in the Portuguese fashion. Manuel Dias, with his Portuguese suite, remained with him till the evening, when the emperor sent three horses very well caparisoned to bring him to the palace. The admiral accordingly set out, taking with him some beautiful presents. The emperor gave him a favourable reception, whilst the presents were laid on a carpet and exhibited to the view of the royal family.—The sovereign himself was dressed in white, and displayed, in his exterior appearance, the character of a high-minded prince. He walked with the admiral for a few turns up and down a great hall; and, after conversing with him on some subjects of importance, gave him permission to return to his lodgings, in order, as he said, to repose himself after his fatigue, when he was to return again to the palace the next morning.

Before Spilbergen took his leave, he ordered the musicians whom he had brought with him to play a lively tune, which gave great satisfaction to the emperor. On the following day this prince again sent his horses to bring Spilbergen back to the palace, where he accordingly proceeded, and was again very graciously received and sumptuously entertained.

The emperor discoursed on the trade in cinnamon and pepper; but he demanded so high a price for those products, that Spilbergen judged it best to draw off the conversation to some other subject.

When Spilbergen was preparing to take his leave, the emperor enquired what offer he would make for his cinnamon and pepper? The admiral replied, that he had not come to Ceylon for any purposes of traffic, so much as to execute the orders of the Prince of Orange, and to make an offer to his majesty of his highnesses friendship and assistance in his contentions with the Portuguese.

The emperor, on hearing this, repeated it to all his nobles and cour-

tiers, amongst whom it diffused great satisfaction. In a transport of joy and gratitude the emperor took the admiral up in his arms, lifted him off the ground, and exclaimed—" All the pepper and cinnamon which I have by me is at your service;" but the whole stock did not amount to the value of more than 3000 crowns.

The emperor, however, readily accounted for his small supply of these commodities, by saying, that, before this, he had never paid any attention to the trade in cinnamon, but on the contrary had been wont to prohibit the collection of the bark, or to order the destruction, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of his deadly enemies the Portuguese, and that the arrival of the Dutch had been too sudden and unexpected to allow him to procure a supply.

During his stay at Candy, Spilbergen had daily interviews with this monarch, in which he conversed with him upon a variety of subjects. He shewed the admiral the cuirasses, and other arms which he had taken from the Portuguese. He also admitted him to behold his magnificent pagodas, that were adorned with four or five thousand statues, some of which were of colossal size. They had beautiful towers constructed of the most costly materials, and arches resplendent with gold; and these sacred edifices are said to have been equal to the Roman Catholic churches, in the beauty of their decorations.

When Spilbergen returned to the emperor, after having seen these noble edifices, his majesty asked him what he thought of his pagodas, upon which Spilbergen replied, that he set a higher value on living men than on lifeless statues.

The emperor asked him if the Dutch churches, like those of the Portuguese, were adorned with images of the Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other saints? He moreover inquired if the Hollanders believed in Christ? Spilbergen replied, that the Hollanders were Christians, but

not of the Roman Catholic communion like the Portuguese. He said that their temples consisted of bare walls, without any images; and that they worshipped God in their hearts.

The emperor proceeded to ask the admiral if the God of the Dutch ever died? The admiral remarked that no man, who was subject to death, could be like God. Spilbergen ventured to suggest to the emperor, that all the images in his pagodas, which represented nothing but dead men, were unworthy of his adoration; and that the only proper object of worship was the living God. The emperor touched upon other religious topics before the admiral took his leave.

The day after this conversation, Spilbergen was invited to a magnificent feast in a great hall of the palace, which was covered with carpets, provided with Spanish stools and a table; and in which every thing was conducted after the European fashion. The emperor also honoured his guest with some good music, in conformity with the custom of the Dutch.

Spilbergen now sent the emperor an equestrian portrait of the Prince of Orange, habited in complete armour, as he appeared in the field of battle, in Flanders, on the second of July, 1600. The emperor, who was much pleased with this mark of respect, asked the admiral to relate the particulars of this battle, and the other events of the war, which the Dutch had waged with the King of Spain.

The emperor, who appears to have been very anxious to obtain information about European affairs, gave strong proofs of this curiosity during the several days in which he conversed with Spilbergen. He was perpetually inviting him to talk about Holland and the Dutch. He ordered the portrait of the Prince of Orange to be hung up in the apartment where he usually lived. He, moreover, once introduced the admiral to the empress and her children, the prince and princess, who were

dressed in the European fashion. This was an extraordinary honour; and, indeed, the annals of Candy will hardly furnish an instance of any ambassador to that court who was treated with any thing like the familiarity and condescension which Spilbergen experienced. The ceremonials of servile respect were no where more constantly exacted; and the reserve, the state, the contemptuous hauteur and crushing insolence of despotism were no where more rigidly maintained.

The emperor invited the states of Holland and the Stadtholder to erect a fort in any part of his dominions which they might choose to select. And he even condescended so far as to say if their high mightinesses and the Prince of Orange were desirous of forming such an edifice, that he the emperor with the empress, the prince and princess, would carry stones, mortar, and other materials on their shoulders, in order to assist in its accomplishment.

The emperor gave Spilbergen different letters for the states and the Stadtholder, and made the admiral his ambassador, in order to treat, in his name, with their high mightinesses and His Highness the Prince of Orange.

Before the departure of the admiral the emperor sent him some costly presents, and also invested him with various titles of honour, to which the Singalese are much attached. At the emperor's particular request, the admiral left with him two of his musicians, Hans Rempel and Erasmus Martsberger, from whom the sovereign himself learned to play on several instruments. The prince and the princess also made Martsberger their private secretary. Martsberger is mentioned as a person of respectable character and with a considerable knowledge of languages. The emperor, the prince, and the princess, seem at this time to have been so much gratified by their new visitant that they began to learn the Dutch language, and used to say that Candy had become another Holland.

When the admiral took his final leave of the Candian sovereign, he

omitted no opportunity in his power of testifying his regard. He gave him many of his large arrows, called segonsios, as proofs of his undoubting confidence, and his lasting friendship, besides a large suite of attendants, elephants, and whatever could add to the convenience of his journey.—It is also mentioned, that he sent him a gilt umbrella with four or five slaves to wait upon his pleasure.

With these proofs of royal friendship and marks of royal munificence, Spilbergen regained the point of the coast from which he had set out, and returned on board his ship after an absence of twenty-two days, during which time, he had been entertained free of all expense.

On the 4th of August, Manuel Dias, the prime minister, was sent by his master with some other Modeliaars and 120 attendants in order to inspect the ship, and to assist Spilbergen in looking out for a better anchoring-place against his return. The prime minister was received on board with marked respect, and very sumptuously entertained.

Before Spilbergen left the coast he had an opportunity of furnishing a complete proof of his hostility to the Portuguese, by capturing three vessels belonging to that nation. The first of these was a galliot with forty-eight men on board, and laden with areca, pepper, and cinnamon. He made a present of this ship and the cargo to the emperor, which occasioned great joy in Candy.

The admiral sailed from Baticalo on the second of September, 1602. Before his departure he inquired of the people who were assembled in the market-place to the number of 200, whether they had any complaints to allege, or any demands to make against himself or any of his crew. Spilbergen certainly conducted himself with great good sense, firmness, and moderation, through the whole of this expedition; and if his successors had evinced the same probity, sagacity, and discretion, the power of the Dutch in Ceylon, of which he laid the original foundation, would have been more permanently established.

CHAP. VIII.

Sebald de Weerd arrives in Ceylon in 1602; his Reception at the Court of the Emperor Don John; he repairs to Achen, and returns in 1603; captures four Portuguese Ships on his Passage; the Release of which excites the Jealousy, and inflames the Rage of the Singalese Emperor. His Animosity aggravated, and his Fears alarmed, by the Representations of his Ambassador from Achen. The Emperor deliberates what Conduct to observe towards the Dutch; during the Debate Sebald de Weerd arrives at the Emperor's Quarters at Baticalo. Circumstances which led to the Assassination of De Weerd, with curious Details respecting that Event; his Attendants massacred. Laconic Message of the Emperor to the Dutch. Sickness of Don John; his Death; his Person and Character described.

SEBALD de Weerd was the next Dutchman who made his appearance at Ceylon. He landed in the neighbourhood of Baticalo, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1602. He immediately proceeded to the capital, where he received strong proofs of the favourable sentiments which Spilbergen had inspired in the royal breast. The emperor shewed him every mark of honour and regard.

Sebald de Weerd reaped great benefit on this occasion from the services of Martsberger, who had been appointed to the office of secretary to the emperor, and who gave the Dutch ambassador all the necessary instructions about his conduct at court.

From Ceylon Sebald de Weerd repaired to Achen, but returned again to Baticalo after a short absence. In his first visit he had entered into a treaty with the emperor, and had then proceeded to Achen, in order to

procure a greater maritime force for the professed purpose of assisting his majesty against the Portuguese.

Upon his return De Weerd captured four Portuguese ships, intelligence of which having been communicated to Manuel Dias, he demanded that some of them should be given up to the emperor. De Weerd excused himself from complying with this demand, by stating that he had previously stipulated that they should be set at liberty.

The emperor, upon hearing of the capture of these ships, hastened in person to Baticalo; and when he heard that they had been released, he became greatly incensed, particularly as he had been informed by his ambassador, who had come from Achen with Sebald de Weerd, that the Dutch admiral had on all occasions shewn himself a friend of the Portuguese, and an enemy of the emperor.

The ambassador told his master that he himself had often experienced the contemptuous behaviour of De Weerd, who, at a magnificent entertainment, had placed the Portuguese at the head of the table, and himself at the bottom, though he was the emperor's representative. Hence he inferred that the Dutch had no other object than to deceive the court of Candy, and by stratagem to render themselves masters of the country; and he affirmed, that all their proceedings were in direct opposition to the treaty which they had lately made with the emperor.

The ambassador moreover warned the emperor to be on his guard against the design of the Dutch to inveigle him and his nobles on board their ships, and thus to become masters at once of his royal person and his dominions.

The emperor, who had heard the above report of his ambassador with a good deal of alarm, called a council of his courtiers and nobles; in which it was debated whether, after what he had heard, as well as the palpable

violation of the treaty by the liberation of the Portuguese vessels, he ought to repose any further confidence in the sincerity of the Hollanders. It was finally resolved that an attempt should be made to induce the Vice-Admiral De Weerd to repair to Galle for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese in that quarter, and thus to ascertain whether they ought with De Weerd to regard him as a friend or a foe.

About the time of this discussion, De Weerd, attended by 300 armed men,* made his appearance at the emperor's quarters; and, after being hospitably entertained, requested his majesty to do him the honour of a visit on board, when he might gratify his curiosity by inspecting the interior of the ship. But the emperor, impressed by the late warnings of his ambassador, and fearing treachery, refused the invitation of the admiral, which he said that his nobles would not permit him to accept.

De Weerd, finding that the emperor could not be persuaded to venture on board, requested him to go down to the shore, in order to have a nearer view of the ship than he could in his present situation. The Dutchman added, that he had ordered a tent with white hangings to be fitted up at the sea-side for the reception of his majesty.

The emperor, whose suspicions were now more strongly awakened, and who became more assured that some attack was meditating upon his person, refused to comply with the wishes of the admiral. But De Weerd, who was a man of hot and hasty temperament, piqued by these two refusals of the sovereign, told him, without any reserve, that, as his majesty would not pay him the compliment which he had requested, he must not expect any assistance from him against the Portuguese.

Though the emperor was greatly enraged, yet smothering his resent-

* At the request of the emperor, De Weerd kept only a small part of this guard with him, and sent the rest towards the shore.

ment, he only replied, that he expected De Weerd would, according to his engagement, sail with his fleet to Galle, as he himself must return to Candy for the sake of the empress, who was left alone, by the departure of his half-brother, Cenuwieraat Adasseyn, for the frontiers.

Sebald de Weerd, who had been drinking to excess, replied with inconsiderate temerity and boorish coarseness, that the empress could not be in want of somebody to supply his place; and that, for himself, he should by no means set out for Galle till his majesty had paid him a visit on board his ship. The first part of this answer was a gross* insult upon the character of the empress, but the second part only confirmed the emperor in the suspicions which his ambassador had previously excited, that De Weerd had formed a design of making him prisoner.

The emperor, who was naturally choleric, and justly incensed by this unseemly and insolent answer of the Dutch admiral, instantly rose up from his seat, and exclaimed in an angry tone to his people, "Mara isto can," bind that dog.

Four of the nobles now attempted to seize the admiral, who made all the resistance he could in his present situation. He endeavoured to make his way to his men, who were stationed on the beach, and called out loudly for assistance; but, during the struggle, a Singalese courtier seizing him behind by the hair of his head, cleft it in two with a broadsword, and De Weerd instantly expired where he fell.

As the emperor had given orders only to bind De Weerd, and not to put him to death, none of the nobles durst at first acquaint him with the event; but, at last, the Prince of Uva had the courage to make it known.

* The Dutchman says, with more plainness than would suit the refinement of English ears, "Het eerste deel van zyn antwoord was een taal, die hy niet erger van een openbare snol en bordeel-hoer kon gevoerd hebben, en die hy nogtans van de Keizerin gebruikte."

As the emperor was asking earnestly, Why have ye not bound him as I commanded? the Prince of Uva said, that, as De Weerd had drawn his sword, he had put it out of their power to secure him in any other way than that which they had employed.

The emperor perceiving what had happened, said, "Well, if he is dead, don't let his people share a better fate than their master." These orders were immediately executed; and of those who came on shore with De Weerd, all were massacred with the exception of a few who swam to the ship, and of one young man of Flushing, named Isaac Plevier, whom the emperor took into his service.

After this barbarous transaction the emperor returned to Candy, and dispatched a short letter in Portuguese to the chief who was left in command of the Dutch. The following is given in Valentyn as a copy of the original;—"Que bebem venho naon he bon. Deos ha faze justicia. Si quisieres pas, pas; se quires guerra, guerra." He who drinks wine is good for nothing. God has executed justice. If you desire peace, let there be peace; if war, war.

The Emperor Don John did not long survive this unfortunate event. He was attacked with a malady, which occasioned such an intolerable and burning heat in his body, that he was obliged continually to lie in a vessel of water, which, according to the accounts, was so cold, that men could not hold it in their mouths, but of which he felt not any of the cooling powers.

In this miserable prelude to his latter end, he expressed deep regret for the massacre of the innocent Hollanders, who had given him no offence; but as, even in these last moments, he had not subdued the feeling of revenge, he said that Sebald de Weerd had only met with his reward, and had merited his fate.

During his sickness, he experienced such frequent paroxysms of pain, that he had no capacity to attend to public affairs, and he expired in the year 1604, leaving a son and two daughters, by his wife Donna Catharina.

In person, Don John was tall and slender. His complexion was black, his manner and conversation were very imposing. He was penetrating, crafty, and intelligent, and had become strongly impressed with the subtle policy of the Portuguese, whilst he was detained in their settlement at Goa. His military qualities were very conspicuous, and he displayed great energy, and performed great atchievements in his warfare with a vigilant and enterprising enemy.

In the distribution of his treasure, he was exempt both from parsimony and profusion, but employed it with much foresight and humanity, in works of public utility, in adding to the security and happiness of his dominions, in building forts against the incursions of the enemy, and choultries, or inns for the convenience of travellers. Great regularity and precision were remarked in all parts of his administration. The justice, which he exercised towards his subjects, was so strict and impartial, that few crimes were perpetrated during his reign; and his generosity was, at the same time, so great towards all who deserved it, that he was at once both beloved and feared. His great abilities made his friendship desired by all the Indian chiefs. He had a thorough insight into the character of the Portuguese, the only object of whose policy he knew to be the subjugation of his country. Nothing therefore could induce him to be made an instrument for the accomplishment of their ambitious views; and he regarded them with an antipathy, which nothing could soften or abate.

By birth Don John was a Singalese, but he had been early instructed in the principles of the Roman Catholic faith, which had not made any deep or lasting impression on his mind; and, what it might have made,

was erased by the perfidy which he found to be practised by those who professed to believe in its sacred truths. The conduct of the Portuguese, and particularly their elevation of Don Philippo to the throne, in violation of their previous engagements with him, had instilled into his bosom a strong abhorrence of their religious ceremonial. When he himself ascended the throne, motives of policy induced him to comply with the religious prejudices of the Singalese, and to practise an exterior conformity to their worship, though he was convinced that it had no just claim to his belief. But, in process of time, he proceeded still farther in the career of skepticism, and regarding the diversities of religious opinion as a matter of indifference, he left them all at perfect liberty.

CHAP. IX.

Contention amongst the Nobles after the Death of Don John. Donna Catharina seizes the Government; her energetic Proceedings. The Portuguese attempt to negotiate with the Empress. Ambitious Intrigues of the Prince of Uva and Cenuwieraat; the former assassinated by his Rival. Transient Resentment of the Empress, who finally marries the Object of it in the Person of Cenuwieraat. He is crowned under the Title of Camapati Mahadassyn. He seeks the Friendship of the Dutch; a Treaty between them in 1612. Boschhouder, by whom the Treaty had been negotiated, detained; high Offices and great Honours heaped upon him by the Emperor. Ravages of a Party of Portuguese; revenged by the Troops of the Emperor. Great Preparations of Cenuwieraat for an Attack upon the Portuguese. Death of the Prince Mahestane, Son of Don John; his magnificent Funeral.

AFTER the body of the late sovereign had been placed under a magnificent canopy, and reduced to ashes according to the custom of the country, the nobles engaged in a violent contention for the crown. The Prince of Uva, by far the most powerful chief in the kingdom, immediately aspired to the vacant throne. His pretensions were opposed by Cenuwieraat Adassyn, the late king's half brother, who affected to be supporting the claim of his nephew, whilst he was secretly labouring to obtain the sceptre for himself.

Donna Catharina, in the mean time, observing the tumultuous ferment and bitter dissentions which distracted the kingdom, and judging herself to have the best claim to the administration of the government, as the mother and guardian of the young emperor, resolutely seized the helm, and instantly ordered some of those, who most loudly clamoured

against her authority, or opposed her power, to be put to death. By these energetic proceedings, she repressed the public disorders and established a temporary tranquillity.

The Portuguese, who regarded Don John's death as an event very favourable to the further prosecution of their ambitious views, lost no time in making it known to the Viceroy of Goa, and immediately set their agents to work, in order to bring about a treaty with the empress, by means of which they might facilitate the final subjugation of the island. But the empress very wisely rejected all the overtures of the Portuguese.

As the Prince of Uva and Cenuwieraat were renewing their factious intrigues for the crown, the empress ordered the great body of the nobility to make their appearance at court, all of whom obeyed the royal summons, except these two aspiring chiefs. They were accordingly proclaimed traitors by a public act of the assembled nobles, and their estates were declared to be forfeited. But they had sufficient interest to get this sentence revoked, and they afterwards came to court as before; but each with a large body of retainers, and without any mutual confidence.

The Prince of Uva had formed a design of assassinating his rival, of marrying the empress, and of thus seating himself upon the throne, as soon as the assembly of the nobles was dispersed. But Cenuwieraat, who had obtained secret information of this plot against his life, omitted no precautions to prevent the execution; and in the mean time feigning a complete reconciliation with his adversary, he had resolved, along with some of the principal members of the government, to embrace the first opportunity of putting him out of the way.

These two competitors were both proceeding to court to take leave of the empress; but, whilst they were making some exterior demonstra-

tions of ceremonious politeness to each other at the farther gate of the palace, and were reciprocally yielding, or professing to yield, the point of precedence, the Prince of Uva at last, as the eldest, consented to lead the way. But he had gone but a few steps, when Cenuwieraat stabbed him in the back, exclaiming, " Lie there, thou false traitor!" The followers of Cenuwieraat instantly carried off the dead body, while the retainers of the murdered chief set up a loud cry of " Treason! Treason!" and instantly fled. This cry caused it, at first, to be supposed that the empress herself had been assassinated. Many lives were lost in the tumult which ensued; but the uproar ceased as soon as the truth was known.

It was now loudly proclaimed that this daring outrage of Cenuwieraat in the sacred precincts of the palace, ought by no means to go unpunished; but the empress, who was fearful of producing greater distractions, thought it more politic to attempt the dispersion of the storm, by giving out that it was by her orders that the Prince of Uva had been put to death.

Tranquillity was thus restored. The empress, however, is said to have felt deep indignation at this act of violence, and only to have smothered her resentment till she could find a convenient opportunity for the gratification. But, in the mean time, Cenuwieraat had the art so effectually to insinuate himself into her favour, and to convince her that the murder he had committed, had only her good for its object, that she consented to choose him for her husband, and he was accordingly crowned in 1604, by the title of Camapati Mahadassyn.

After his exaltation to the throne Cenuwieraat, or Camapati Mahadassyn, anxiously sought to obtain the friendship of the Hollanders, that they might act with their united force against the Portuguese. But in the year 1609, the States General of the United Netherlands concluded a truce with the Archduke Albert, and the Infanta of Spain,

which was to extend to their Indian settlements. During the continuance of this truce, the states general resolved to make every exertion in their power to fortify their eastern possessions, by cultivating the friendship and securing the alliance of the native princes. Directions were accordingly given to their supreme authorities in that quarter to enter into treaties, offensive and defensive, with the different kings and chiefs, in order to take every possible precaution against the future hostility of the Portuguese.

Letters were sent by the states general, and Prince Maurice of Nassau, to Cenuwieraat, Emperor of Ceylon, with strong professions of friendship, and to assure him that they had taken care to include his majesty in the truce which they had concluded with the Portuguese.* These letters were forwarded to the court of Candy in 1612, by Marcellus de Boschhouder, an officer of the second rank in the Dutch East India Company. Boschhouder was received by Cenuwieraat with much consideration; and a treaty was concluded between his majesty and the Hollanders, on the eleventh of May in the same year.

The treaty consisted of many articles, but the principal drift of it was, the union of the contracting parties in an offensive and defensive alliance against the Portuguese, in order, as far as possible to secure to the Dutch an exclusive trade with the Singalese; and to suffer no European whatever to enter the island without their consent. By this treaty the Dutch obtained permission to erect a fort at Cotjaar, the materials for building which were to be furnished by the emperor, who was also to provide magazines of stone for their goods and merchandize.

After the conclusion of the treaty, Boschhouder requested permission to depart to the coast with some elephants, which he had received for

* Portugal was at this time annexed to the crown of Spain. This annexation lasted from 1580 to 1640, when the Duke of Braganza recovered the independence of his country.

the factory of Tegenapatnam, and to make a report of what he had been doing at Candy; but the emperor refused to comply with this request. He represented it as one of the conditions of the treaty, that he should always have some of the Hollanders present in his councils; and he considered the meditated departure of Boschhouder as an infraction of that stipulation.

But in the mean time, in order to render the stay of the Dutchman as agreeable as possible, the emperor conferred on him various offices of honour, and some titular distinctions of great value in the opinions of the Singalese. Boschhouder was made Prince of Mingone, of Cockele Corle, Anaragipura, Miwitigaal, Chief of the Order of the Golden Sun, President of the Supreme Council of War, second in the Secret Council, and High Admiral; and was altogether in such favour with the emperor, and so high in his esteem, that he did nothing of the least moment without his advice or concurrence.

In the year 1612, Simon Correa, at the head of 1000 Portuguese troops and 3000 Indians, proceeded to Cotjaar by a secret path with which he had been made acquainted by the Singalese. Here he surprised and massacred the company of Hollanders whom Boschhouder had left in that quarter, and then retreated rapidly into the province of the Seven Corles, in order to anticipate the opposition which he was likely to experience from the emperor's troops.

As soon as the emperor received intimation of the above enterprise, he sent 5000 troops to Cotjaar, under some of his most distinguished officers, who came up with the flying enemy near the confines of the Seven Corles, cut many of them in pieces, set fire to numerous villages, and returned to Candy with considerable spoil.

After this the emperor was determined to make a powerful effort against the Portuguese, assembled the states of the kingdom, who

agreed to raise an army of 50,000 men. One division of this force, under the command of the Prince of Uva, was destined to make an attack upon the town of Punto Gale; another, under the Prince of Mingone, to attempt to carry the fortress of Walane, and afterwards to march against Columbo; and thus to bring the whole force of the kingdom to bear upon the Portuguese.

The Portuguese also at the same time set a large army on foot, with which they marched to Jaffnapatam, where they were vigorously repulsed; but the exertions neither of the Singalese, nor of their European enemies, were at this time attended with any important results.

The Prince Mahestane, son of Don John and Donna Catharina, for whom the crown was professedly held, died on the twenty-second of August, in the year 1612, not without suspicions of having been poisoned by his step-father, Cenuwieraat, in order to secure the throne to a son of his own. But whatever might be the cause of his death, no magnificence was omitted in the celebration of his funeral obsequies. The body, preceded by the musicians of the deceased, was borne to the pyre amidst loud expressions of regret and lamentation. The corpse was placed on an elevation of seven stone steps, in the centre of which a hollow space had been made, which was filled with sandal wood, eagle-wood, (excaecaria agallochum) and many costly and fragrant aromatics. The bier was covered around to the height of several feet, with woods and spices of the same kind. Besides this there were three jars of cinnamon oil, which kept burning for half an hour. Over the hollow space a princely canopy was constructed, which was seven feet high, and decorated with sumptuous garments of embroidered gold.

Boschhouder, the Prince of Mingone, was deputed to set fire to

the funeral pile, when the by-standers raised a loud shriek of woe. After the body of the deceased prince had been reduced to ashes, and all the funereal rites had been duly performed, the emperor and the nobles returned to the palace, in order to condole with the afflicted empress.

CHAP. X.

Boschhouder chastises a rebellious Chief; he defeats a Portuguese Fleet. Latter End of the Empress Donna Catharina; dying Scene. Sickness of Cenuwieraat; anticipates his Death; Two Chiefs appointed to rule during the Minority of his Son. Cenuwieraat recovers, proposes to marry his Step-daughter; the Match powerfully and successfully opposed by Boschhouder. Boschhouder's Embassy to Mazulipatam; he proceeds to Europe. His Hauteur disgusts the Directors of the Dutch East India Company; he repairs from Holland to Copenhagen; concludes a Treaty with the King of Denmark in 1618; *he sets out on his Return to India; dies upon his Voyage. Some Danish Ships under Gule Gedde reach Ceylon; the Treatment they experience from the Emperor. Gule Gedde returns to Denmark. The Portuguese erect a Fort in Trincomalee; another at Baticalo. Constantine de Saa takes the Field; his miserable End.*

AT the commencement of the year 1613 the favoured Dutchman, Boschhouder, was sent with an army of 35,000 men, to reduce to submission a rebellious chief, called the King of Panua, who had joined the Portuguese. He was brought a prisoner to Candy, where his head was cut off, whilst his followers were crushed to death by the elephant, which performed the office of public executioner.

In the same year Boschhouder had the good fortune to defeat the Portuguese fleet between Cape Comorin and Ceylon; and, after burning some of their ships, and taking others, to return with a prize of six tons of gold.

The Empress Donna Catharina, who was so much afflicted by the loss of her son that she had taken hardly any nourishment since his death,

perceiving that her end was approaching, sent, in July 1613, for the princes of Mingone and Uva, and, after exacting from them an oath of fidelity, made them guardians over her children. Conscious of the rapid advances of death, she had her five children brought into her presence, and kissing them one after the other, she earnestly adjured the two chiefs above-mentioned to protect them with constancy and affection.

After this, casting her eyes upon her husband Cenuwieraat, who was present, she charged him with being the cause of her death, though it does not appear that there was any ground for the accusation; but he is said to have taken it so much to heart, that it impaired his health, and seemed to threaten his life. The empress breathed her last on the twentieth of July, in the year 1613. Before her death she expressed great contrition for her sins, and particularly that of having conformed to the rites of pagan worship. The day after her decease, her funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence, in the same place where those of her son had recently received the same tribute of ceremonious regard.

After the death of the empress, the sickness of the emperor assumed such a dangerous aspect, that he assembled his principal nobles, and requested them to choose two of their order to govern the kingdom during the minority of his son. They selected the princes of Mingone and of Uva for this important trust; and they were accordingly appointed by a solemn act to exercise the supreme administration during the minority of the prince. The emperor himself at the same time earnestly admonished all his children to obey these guardians of the realm as long as they were subject to their control. This scene naturally leads us to expect that Cenuwieraat would soon breathe his last; but he appears to have survived for several years this delegation of the sovereignty to two of his chiefs. In the year 1614, we read that this same Cenuwieraat had formed a design of marrying his step-daughter, which the Prince of Mingone powerfully opposed. All the other nobles, who did not partake of

his juster and more European sentiments of aversion, felt no repugnance to the match; but the Prince of Mingone is said to have made such a powerful appeal to the emperor's conscience upon the subject, that the tears rolled down his cheeks; and, what is more, the project vanished from his thoughts.*

Boschhouder, the Dutchman, who had thus acted a conspicuous part in the affairs of Ceylon, and become one of the greatest chiefs in the country, in the year 1615 obtained permission of the emperor to repair to Mazulipatam to procure some promised succours against the Portuguese. Boschouwer was invested with unlimited powers to conclude such treaties, and to form such engagements, with different powers, as he might judge good for the interest of his majesty, which he undertook accordingly to ratify.

Boschhouder, owing to the then state of the Dutch affairs in the East, having found it impossible to procure troops from Mazulipatam, or the other settlements, in order to act against the Portuguese, it was judged expedient to send him to the mother country, in order to make known his powers to the states general, the Prince of Orange, and the Directors of the Dutch East India Company.

When Boschhouder arrived in Holland, some little dissensions soon arose between him and the Directors of the East India Company. For the former, exalted above measure by the part he had acted in Candy, the influence he had acquired, the servility he had experienced, and the rank and the titles which he enjoyed, exacted more homage from the directors than they were disposed to yield to one whom they regarded as their servant and inferior. The Prince of Mingone, accordingly, listening more to the suggestions of vanity, than to the precepts of duty, repaired to Copenhagen, where, on the thirtieth of March, 1618, he con-

* Valentyn Vyfde deel, 114.

cluded a treaty with Christian IV. King of Denmark, which promised to secure to that monarch those advantages, of which the want of more condescension in the Dutch East India Company to their supercilious countryman had rendered them unworthy.

Boschhouder set sail with a ship and a yacht on his return to India in the same year. He was accompanied by his wife, who went by the title of the Princess of Mingone, some domestics, and a number of soldiers who were destined to be employed in Ceylon. But Boschhouder died upon his voyage, when most of his people ran away from the ship on the coast of Coromandel; and thus the whole expedition vanished in smoke.

Boschhouder had stipulated that the King of Denmark should be indemnified by the Emperor of Ceylon for the ship and the yacht which he had received. To these vessels the Danish East India Company at Copenhagen added five other ships, which were placed under the orders of a Danish nobleman, named Gule Gedde.

After a long and desultory voyage of twenty-two months, this fleet reached Ceylon in the year 1620, and anchored in the bay of Cotjaar. Gule Gedde immediately dispatched intelligence to the emperor of his arrival, of the death of the Prince of Mingone on the passage, and the number of ships he had brought, all of which he represented as having been built for the service of the emperor, and as then awaiting his orders.

But the emperor, who learned with grief the death of the Prince of Mingone, and who was irritated by the charge which was brought against him for these ships, declared that they had been sent without his orders; and that he would have nothing to do with them; nor could he by any means approve, nor would he ratify the treaty which Boschhouder had concluded with the Danes.

Gule Gedde, finding that he was not likely to obtain any compensation for his ships and other expenses, ascribed the whole loss to the account of the deceased Boschhouder, whose remains, as well as those of his son, who had also died on the voyage, were still on board. Gule Gedde accordingly declared all his property and effects forfeited to the King of Denmark.

After this the Danish admiral had the corpse of Boschhouder interred in a manner that marked the vindictive feelings which he harboured in his breast; but, though he evinced this contempt to the remains of the father, he exhibited a good deal of parade in the funeral obsequies of his son; as his majesty, Christian the Fourth, had stood sponsor at his baptism. Gule Gedde appropriated very little of her husband's property to the widow of the deceased Prince of Mingone, who was afterwards conducted to Candy with three maids of honour (staatdogters) and an old waiting maid. Here she remained about seven years, when, at the request of the Danish admiral, Rowland Carpe, and by the permission of the emperor, she, along with her companions, was conducted to Tranquebar.

Gule Gedde, after losing one of his ships, and entirely failing in the object of his expedition, returned to Denmark, to the great joy of the Portuguese, who after this commenced the erection of a fortress at the north-west point of the bay of Trincomalee, in order to prevent the access of other European settlers to that part of the island. The materials with which this fortress was built were taken from the ruins of a magnificent pagoda which once adorned the spot. The Portuguese began the erection of this fort in the year 1622; and prosecuted the work in silence during an interval of peace with the emperor.

The Portuguese afterwards erected another fortress at Baticalo, with which they had in all seven strong places in those parts of the island where a landing was most practicable; and thus they endeavoured to

deprive the emperor of the means of holding any intercourse with foreigners.

In August, 1630, Constantine de Saa, the Portuguese chief, took the field with a large army against the Prince of Uva, Comara Singa Hastana, the eldest son of Cenuwieraat, who, in conjunction with his two brothers, was at the head of a powerful force. De Saa plundered the province of Uva; but, upon his return, he was deserted by all the Singalese whom he had in his army, whilst he was attacked by the three princes, who made great havoc in his rear. The rain, which fell in torrents, prevented the Portuguese from using their fire-arms; whilst the enemy put them to flight with their bows and arrows and pikes. In this scene of distress one of the revolted Singalese cut off the head of the brave De Saa, and carried it on a drum to the Prince Mahestane, or Raja Singa, as he was afterwards denominated.

CHAP. XI.

Death of Cenuwieraat; Division of his Dominions. Raja Singa becomes Master of the Whole; he calls in the Aid of the Dutch against the Portuguese. A Negociation begun; some Dutch Deputies sent to Candy; the Portuguese alarmed, resolve to March to that Capital. They reach Candy; their Retreat; their desperate Situation; Debate between the Chiefs De Melo and Bottado. The Portuguese attacked by Raja Singa, and cut to pieces; their Heads piled up in a Pyramid. De Melo and Bottado.

THE Emperor Cenuwieraat died not long after the abovementioned defeat of the Portuguese, and the destruction of their general. His dominions were divided amongst his three sons: Uva became the portion of the Prince Comara Singo Hastane; Mature of the Prince Viscapalla, and Candy of the youngest son, Mahestane, or Raja Singa Adassyn, who placed himself upon the throne of his father, and assumed the title of emperor. He afterwards obtained possession of the territories of his two brothers; the eldest of whom died in 1637; and the other, Visiapalla, who was wanting in intellectual capacity, went over to the Portuguese, amongst whom he lived neglected and despised.

Raja Singa,* finding that no durable peace could be maintained with the Portuguese, and that they were continually seizing every opportu-

* Valentyn says, that in February 1643, a vessel put into Punto de Galle, from the coast of Choromandel, having on board two princesses, daughters of a king of the Carnatic, who were intended to grace the nuptials of Raja Singa. There were some Moorish and Singalese ambassadors on board, who said that they had been nearly three years engaged in this expedition, and had expended four or five thousand pagodas. The Dutch, who were at this time masters of Galle, supplied the party with a yacht to convey them to Baticalo, which was the original place of their destination. Raja Singa expressed himself greatly obliged by this act of courtesy, which he promised to reward.

nity which offered of increasing their power, determined to call in the aid of the Dutch. He accordingly, in September 1636, dispatched a Brahmin with a letter to the commander of that nation, on the coast of Choromandel. The Brahmin, after having been detained six months at Jaffnapatam, where he was in continual danger of his life, at last found means of executing his commission.

Some Dutch deputies were accordingly dispatched to the Emperor of Candy, who remained at the place, where he then held his court, for eight days; and had an audience of his majesty twice every day; during which time they succeeded in convincing him of the gross misrepresentations of their power by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese having heard that the Dutch had had an audience of the emperor, and that they had determined to attack Baticalo with their united forces, resolved to lose no time in marching to Candy, and frustrating the project of their enemies. The Portuguese army, under the command of Diego de Melo and Damijao Bottado, set out on their expedition in March, 1638. They succeeded in reaching Candy, from which Raja Singa had previously retired. Having satiated their avarice and their cruelty, the Portuguese departed to Gameru, where they pitched their camp. Their army consisted of 2300 whites and Mestizos, with 6000 blacks. Raja Singa had had the precaution to block up the way to Walane, as well as to other places on their retreat, with large trees thrown across the paths. All the Singalese, who were in the Portuguese army, seeing the dreadful extremity to which they were reduced, deserted their standards; and the Portuguese themselves, discerning no chance of escape, sent a Franciscan and Augustinian monk to the emperor to endeavour to negociate a peace, on the condition that they might be permitted to return to Columbo without further molestation. But the answer they received was such as to convince them that they had not the smallest hope of safety except in the valour of their arms.

In this fatal extremity De Melo asked Bottado, who had first recommended this fatal expedition to Candy, what he would farther advise, in order to extricate them from their present difficulties? Bottado answered, that they had no other choice than to fight with desperation, and to sell their lives as dear as possible. But De Melo had no resolution to fight, and no inclination to die.

In the mean time Raja Singa, seizing the favourable opportunity, attacked them with such impetuosity, during a heavy rain, with his archers and spearmen, that not one of the Portuguese escaped, except the few whom the prince chose to spare. Whilst Raja Singa beheld the slaughter from a seat raised under a high tree, his troops brought him, as an offering, the heads of his enemies, which they piled up upon one another, in the shape of a pyramid.

No more than seventy Portuguese were left alive; these were made prisoners. Thus the brave Bottado, and the pusillanimous De Melo, both perished on the hill of Gameru; and the Portuguese long preserved the recollection of this memorable overthrow.

CHAP. XII.

The Dutch Admiral, Westerwold, wrests Baticalo from the Portuguese. In 1638 the Dutch conclude a Treaty with the Emperor. The Emperor lays Siege to Columbo. Trincomalee reduced. Negumbo taken and retaken. The Dutch, under Coster, carry Punto de Galle by Storm. Coster proceeds to Candy; his cold Reception; his impolitic Violence; his Assassination on his Return. The Emperor views the rising Power of the Dutch with Suspicion and Distrust; he accordingly relaxes his Exertions against the Portuguese.

IN May, 1638, Adam Westerwold, one of the council of the Indies,* attacked the Portuguese fortress of Baticalo with five hundred men and six pieces of cannon, and without much difficulty obtained possession of the place.

The Dutch, having succeeded in supplanting the power of the Portuguese in this part of the island, now entered into a treaty with the emperor consisting of twenty articles, in which they did not forget their own interest, or the means of establishing their future dominion. All the fortresses, which the contracting parties should take from the enemy, were to be garrisoned by Dutch troops, who were to be equipped at the expense of the emperor. The emperor was to supply gallies and smaller vessels for the protection of the coast and rivers. The arms and ammunition were to be provided by the Dutch, and paid for by the emperor with cinnamon, pepper, wax, cardamoms, and other products. The Dutch were to carry on their commerce in any part of the island which they chose, free of all tolls and imposts.

* Raja Singa sent this officer the sword of De Melo, in token of his recent victory.

No other Europeans were to be permitted to trade with any of his subjects, or to hold any intercourse with the coast. The emperor, in order to defray some definite expenses of the Dutch, was every year to send one or two ships to Batavia, laden with cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, and wax; and, when there was any overplus, it was to be paid for in money or goods. This treaty was concluded in 1638.

The emperor, with an army of 20,000 men, next proceeded to lay siege to Columbo, which was not, at the time, expected to hold out long, after the great disasters which the Portuguese arms had recently sustained. But the surrender of this place was delayed by subsequent events. The fortress of Trincomalee was reduced in 1639. Negumbo was taken in the following year by the Dutch troops, under the command of Philip Lucasson, but it was soon after recaptured by the Portuguese.

In March, 1640, William Jacobson Coster appeared with a body of Dutch troops before the town of Punto de Galle, which was a few days after bravely carried by storm. The native troops which were to have cooperated in the enterprise, seem purposely to have delayed their march. The Singalese had probably by this time begun to suspect that they had as much to dread from the ascendancy of the Dutch as from that of the Portuguese.

After having made himself master of Punto de Galle, Coster found it necessary to make a journey to Candy, in order to hasten some preparations which had been neglected, and to procure some supplies which had been withheld. Here he found so little attention paid to his reasonable demands, and experienced so much evasion and delay, that he suffered his anger and impatience to get the better of more prudential considerations. Instead of reflecting on the tragical end of Sebald de Weerd, which has been mentioned above, he began to make the officers of the palace the objects of his menaces and abuse. This outrage upon the decorum of a despotic court was immediately reported to the emperor, who

sent Coster permission to depart from Candy, but without shewing him any of the customary tokens of friendship and respect. He was attended on his return to Baticalo by some Singalese, who murdered him on the road.

This atrocity, which was, no doubt, perpetrated by the command of the emperor, proves not only the resentment which was excited by the insolence or temerity of Coster, but the suspicious malevolence with which the rising power of the Dutch was beginning to be viewed by the Singalese. As a proof of this feeling of animosity and distrust towards the Dutch, the emperor, who had previously exerted himself to the utmost to drive the Portuguese from Columbo, at present gave them an opportunity of re-establishing their sway in that quarter, in order that they might be the better able to check the growth of the Dutch power and to diminish his fear of their exclusive domination.

CHAP. XIII.

The Armistice between the Dutch and the Portuguese in 1642 not extended to Ceylon. Negumbo again taken from the Portuguese. The Dutch carry off some of the Emperor's tame Elephants; how he avenges that Injury. Humble Overtures and hypocritical Professions of the Dutch, in order to effect Reconciliation with the Emperor. The Administration of Maatsuyker. The Portuguese driven out of Ceylon.

ON the separation of Portugal from the dominion of Spain by the Duke of Braganza, in the year 1642, an armistice for the space of ten years was agreed upon between the Dutch and the Portuguese, which was designed to include the respective territories in the East. But Ceylon did not enjoy the benefit of this truce, owing, as the Dutch say, to the bad faith* of the Viceroy of Goa, but probably not less to the impatient desire of the Dutch themselves to complete the work which they had begun, and to make themselves masters of the island.

In 1644, His Excellency Francis Caron, who commanded the Dutch forces in Ceylon, once more took the fortress of Negumbo from the Portuguese. After strengthening the works, he left in it a garrison of 500 men. In 1646, a temporary pacification ensued between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

Soon after this, the Dutch were involved in an open war with the Emperor of Candy. The Dutch commander at Negumbo had carried off some tame elephants belonging to his majesty, who was so enraged by this proceeding, that he resolved to avenge it with all his might.

* Valentyn, 5. p. 120.

He surrounded some troops of this nation in the Seven Corles; slew the commander, Adrian van der Stel, cut off his head, sent it in a silk bag for the inspection of his countrymen, and ordered 688 of the Hollanders into captivity at Candy.

The Dutch now exerted all their address to produce a reconciliation with the emperor. Their chief commander, Maatsuyker, strongly represented to his majesty that the elephants had been carried off without his orders, and were ready to be restored whenever his majesty should think fit. The Dutch pretended that their principal object was not to render themselves independent of his majesty, but to protect him against the Portuguese; and that, for this service, all they required was that their military expenses should be repaid; but that if the emperor could defend himself against the Portuguese, they (the Dutch) were willing to depart from his dominions. They called God to witness that they had no intention of establishing themselves in that country, but only to assist his majesty, and to receive the products of his territory at a reasonable price, according to a treaty which had been concluded with Westerwold. They prayed that his majesty would be pleased to appoint a place in which they might arrange their differences. They hoped that his majesty was wiser than to seek a war against those who had delivered him from the power of his enemies, and who still had in their possession four fortresses in order to render him farther service.

The above professions at least prove that, if the Dutch were wanting in sincerity, they discovered no deficiency of impudence. To tell the sovereign of a country that they had no intention of violating his independence, while they had garrisoned four fortresses in his dominions; and to assert that the possession of these very fortresses was designed only for his benefit; that is, to enable them to extend their own conquests, was to presume too much upon their own sagacity or upon the shortsightedness of the Singalese.

From the correspondence* which was carried on from 1646 to 1650 between the Dutch governor Maatsuyker and the court of Candy, it appears that the emperor often hesitated between the policy of uniting his interest with the Dutch or with the Portuguese. But in the end the Dutch shewed superior skill in the arts of deception; and triumphed over their opponents in the councils of the Candian sovereign.

Under the administration of Maatsuyker, the Dutch obtained quiet possession of Negumbo, Galle, and Matura, with the adjacent country; collected cinnamon, caught wild elephants, and, in other ways, promoted their commercial interests.

Maatsuyker was replaced in 1650 by Jacob van Kittensteyn, as governor of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, under the title of President. In 1656 the Portuguese were driven out of Columbo, which they had possessed for 150 years. They were soon after deprived of their remaining settlements; and in 1658 they were finally expelled from the island.

* In some of Maatsuyker's letters, we find that presents of horses were amongst the means employed to sooth the jealous, or to conciliate the offended emperor. Thus, in a letter of March, 1649, Maatsuyker says, that a horse is arrived at Galle, well worthy of carrying a king upon his back. His majesty's orders are requested with respect to the sending it up to Candy. Some trinkets and fruits will also be forwarded to his majesty. The horse, abovementioned, which appears to have been an Arabian, is stated in another letter to have been sent to Candy with a Dutch saddle, on which no man had ever sat. If this steed, thus caparisoned, proved acceptable to his majesty, a still better was promised to excite further hope. See Valentyn, 5. p. 125—67.

CHAP. XIV.

The bad Policy of the Portuguese. The Commencement, Growth, and Destruction of their Power.

WHEN the Portuguese first arrived in India, they found the trade in the hands of the Saracens and Arabians, from whom they gradually wrested it by their naval superiority. But, not contented with acquiring the ascendancy at sea, they endeavoured afterwards to become masters of the land. For this purpose they had recourse both to stratagem and violence. After they had obtained permission to erect warehouses on the coast, they soon converted them into castles and fortresses, under the pretext of securing themselves against the incursions of robbers and pirates. They now sowed dissensions amongst the neighbouring chiefs; and, helping the weak against the strong, they at last obtained possession of the most important points upon the coast. These they enjoyed with little molestation till the year 1630.

In the trade with the East, the King of Portugal reserved to himself the cinnamon, pepper, musk, amber, gold, silver, and other precious commodities, and left the commerce in other articles in the hands of his subjects; but for which they had to pay various duties and imposts. Thus the sovereign amassed great treasures, by which he was enabled to support the expense of fortifications, garrisons, the equipment and the convoy of ships, &c.

The Portuguese flag was no sooner triumphant in the Indian Ocean, than they aimed at excluding almost all the Indians from any participa-

tion of the trade; or, if they gave permission of traffic to any of the native powers, they were obliged to purchase the license with large sums of money, and to pay high duties and exorbitant tolls in those places where the Portuguese had erected their castles and forts.

As their desire of domination increased with their means, they soon began to entertain less limited prospects of power and wealth. Hence they found it necessary to maintain a greater expenditure, more troops, and larger establishments. But the population of Portugal was not sufficient for these increased demands upon its stores. In order to supply the deficiency, the Portuguese had recourse to two expedients; these were marriages with the native women, and the conversion of the natives to the Roman Catholic faith. By these means they imagined that they should establish their power on the firmest basis, and render themselves invincible. But they forgot what both nations and individuals are not prone to remember, that no power can be stable which is founded on oppression; and that an agreement even of multitudes of the natives in the rites and ceremonies of their religion, would form but a weak bond of union, or a slender tie of submission, where the affections were alienated by inhumanity and injustice.

As the towns and castles of the Portuguese were confined to the coast, they were greatly inferior in numbers and power to the chiefs of the interior, who were able perpetually to frustrate their views and to humble their ambition. And as the settlements which they possessed were in remote situations, they were not able to send any efficacious support to each other, and consequently required more troops for their defence.

They had no inducement to cultivate the land in the vicinity of their factories, as the possession depended entirely upon the favour or the forbearance of the native chiefs.

In the towns which they occupied, the number of Portuguese was very

small compared with that of the other inhabitants. The proportion was not more than that of 500 to 6000; and their establishments were filled with a refuse and disorderly population of slaves, of half-converted natives, and vagabond Moors.

The pride of the Portuguese, and the insolent habits which it produced, contributed also to accelerate their fall. All manual labour, which required either strength or skill, was reputed a degradation to a Portuguese. Thus the handicraft trades and useful employments were consigned to slaves. They taught the Indians to do every thing that they wanted to be done, and even to act as sailors on board their ships. A Portuguese was thought to be dishonoured by any but a military employment. These regulations of their policy might be productive of little inconvenience as long as they had no enemies to combat in the field; but, when a war broke out, they found their towns full of a tumultuary rabble, in whom no confidence could be reposed.

As soon as an enemy approached who was able to contend with them at sea, the King of Portugal lost all his duties, tolls, and revenues, and was compelled to support increased burdens with diminished means.

In the chiefs of the interior, whom they had by turns cheated and oppressed, the Portuguese could repose no more confidence than in their slaves. They were ready to practise, on every opportunity, the lessons of perfidy which they had learned from the example, if not from the precepts, of the Portuguese.

Thus the Portuguese lost, by successive alienations, their dominion in the Maldives, on the coast of Canara, in Ormus, Persia, Mascat in Arabia, with their trade in Abyssinia, Japan, and other places. But in Ceylon they maintained a long and desperate conflict, and, for a considerable interval, made head against their enemies, and delayed the overthrow of their power in that island of fertility and delight. Those treasures

which the Portuguese had extorted by fraud, cruelty, and oppression, from impoverished millions, were lavished in support of their ambitious sway in this fair portion of the globe. But there is a term when fraud, cruelty, and oppression, cease to flourish; and, when the prosperity, which has been founded upon such crumbling materials, begins to decline, it soon vanishes like a dream of the morning, or a vision of the night.

CHAP. XV.

Animosity of Raja Singa against the Dutch. His Hostility rendered Abortive by their Sagacity and Perseverance. Raja Singa attacked by his own Subjects. Many of his Nobles slain; Design of the Insurgents; their Cowardice. The King escapes to the Mountains; pursued, but not taken. His Son proclaimed Emperor; Details of his Behaviour on the Occasion. The old Emperor's Sister joins her Brother with the young Prince; the Conspirators despair of Success. Origin of the Insurrection. One of the principal Insurgents sent to Columbo, to be tortured by the Dutch. Raja Singa orders his only Son to be poisoned; throws off the Weight of Gratitude, by putting his best Friends to Death. He shuts himself up at Dietlighy; his Detention of the Dutch Ambassadors; one of them departs without Leave; Details respecting. A French Fleet arrives on the Coast of Ceylon; opens a Correspondence with the Emperor, who gives the French Leave to build a Fort. Insolent Temerity of a French Ambassador at Candy; its Circumstances and Results. Raja Singa's Death; Description of his Person. Succeeded by his Son Mahestane; his Death. Wira Praccaram Narendra Singa. Decline of Ceylon in Military Power during the Reign of Mahestane.

AFTER the expulsion of the Portuguese,* Raja Singa perceived that he had contributed to raise up against himself a more subtle, active, and powerful enemy in the Dutch; with whom he continued on terms of open war, or secret hostility to the end of his reign. The Portuguese power was hardly exterminated from the island, before the Singalese sovereign found that his faithful servants and disinterested auxiliaries the Dutch, were determined, contrary to their recent professions and promises, to

* Knox, his father, &c. were made prisoners after this event. Raja Singa was sovereign of the country during the whole of Knox's captivity.

retain possession of all the towns and fortresses which they had reduced. This conduct so enraged the monarch, that he determined to embrace every opportunity of vengeance. Knowing the commercial cupidity of his present adversary, he gave orders to the inhabitants of the low lands, where the cinnamon grows, to carry it off to the hill country, to lay waste the groves and plantations, and reduce them to a state of desolate sterility, in order to force the Dutch to relinquish a territory, in which they had no prospect of gain. But the obstinate Hollanders were not to be so easily dislodged. More provident than the Portuguese, they made themselves masters, not only of the coast, but of the most valuable and productive portions of the adjacent country, which they secured against the incursions of their enemies.

In the year 1664, when Raja Singa had retired from Candy to the town of Nilobe, in order to prosecute his hostile designs against the Dutch, a rebellion broke out amongst his own subjects, which had nearly proved fatal to his authority and his life. On the 21st of December, a body of about two hundred men entered the town of Nilobe, at midnight, and proceeded towards the residence of the emperor.* They slew many of the nobles, who adhered to the king, and had resolved to treat him in the same manner, and to place his son upon the throne, who was a youth of from twelve to fifteen years of age.

The conspirators might readily have seized the person of the old king, if they had not been restrained by cowardice, as he was protected only by a mud wall, covered with straw, which served him for a breast-work. But as they delayed the attack till the morning, he had an opportunity of escaping, with about fifty followers, to the mountains during the night. The situation which he chose for his retreat, was so covered with bushes and underwood, that they were obliged to drive an elephant before, in order to trample down a path for the king to pass.

* Valentyn, 5. p. 198.

The conspirators pursued his majesty to this spot; but, as he was provided with some good musketeers, they took care to keep out of the reach of their fire. The king afterwards fled to the hill of Gauluda.* Here too his subjects might easily have made him prisoner; but the awe of the tyrant seems still to have operated upon their minds; their resolution was vanquished by their fears. They returned to Candy, and proclaimed the young prince emperor.

This unfortunate youth, who had never been out of the precincts of the palace, nor accustomed to any persons but his ordinary attendants, was seized with apprehension, when he beheld a number of persons prostrating themselves before him, saluting him as emperor, and telling him that his father had fled to the hills.

When the prince exhibited no signs of joy at this news, and shewed no disposition to co-operate in their designs, the conspirators were plunged deeper in irresolution and uncertainty. And as soon as they heard that the old emperor's sister had set out to join her brother, taking with her the young prince, they began to fly in different directions; and some of them turned their arms against each other.

This insurrection, which was conducted without vigour or intrepidity, originated in the cruelty and oppression of the sovereign; the object of whose reign seemed to be to devastate the country, and to destroy the inhabitants. He put his subjects to death in the most wanton manner, and by the most barbarous modes, as the caprice of the moment might suggest, or passion might impel.

After the above insurrection was suppressed, and most of the conspirators punished in various ways, it is not a little remarkable, that the inhuman tyrant sent a Singalese, named Ambom Welleraul, who

* Marked Garlenda in Valentyn's map, and close to Dietlighy.

had been one of the principal insurgents, to Columbo, where he thought that he would be treated with more cruelty by the Dutch, than his own imagination could devise. But the Dutch, instead of acting agreeably to the expectations of Raja Singa in this respect, set him at liberty, and treated him with kindness.

Raja Singa, perceiving that his then only son, though he had taken no part in the insurrection, had experienced the favour of the conspirators, and that they had designed to place him on the throne, determined to liberate himself from this apprehension for the future, and accordingly ordered him to be taken off by poison.

There are some persons, who have been so depraved, or so proud, as to be incapable of enduring the weight of gratitude; and this remark has, in various instances, been found applicable to sovereigns, whom a sense of obligation has humbled, by an uneasy sentiment of inferiority to those by whom it has been conferred. Raja Singa belonged to the class of ungrateful potentates; for he put to death, in the most barbarous manner, most of those nobles who had shared his flight, and assisted him in his adversity.

Late events had not contributed to teach Raja Singa either humanity or moderation. But though his government was not rendered more mild, those alarms, from which a tyrant is never free, were greatly augmented in his breast; and, after this insurrection, he kept himself in the town of Dietlighy, in which he expected to feel more security against similar attempts.

The Dutch made frequent attempts, by embassies and presents, to lull his suspicions, to soothe his animosity, and to conciliate his confidence. But these efforts were productive of little effect. He received their presents,* and detained their ambassadors. One of these ambas-

* In the year 1679, the Governor Van Goens sent the emperor a present of two black Persian

sadors, more intrepid than the rest, determined rather to die, than to linger in a protracted captivity. He accordingly formed a resolution, if he did not receive permission from the court, to depart by a certain day, not to wait any longer, but to set out upon his return. When the appointed day arrived, he girded his sword upon his side, proceeded to the palace, made a profound obeisance to the naked walls, and took a formal leave. As he was going away, he saw some English prisoners, who happened to be present at the scene, and to whom he gave money to drink his health. Two or three of his slaves accompanied him on his return. The emperor, instead of stopping his march, sent some of his courtiers to conduct him on the way; and he arrived safe at Columbo.*

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horses, covered with green velvet trappings, hanging to the ground; and each horse led by two Malabar slaves. There were ten beautiful falcons, each borne by a Malabar, dressed in white; six musk or civet cats, each in a separate basket, borne by two slaves; six Tutocoryn hens, in elegant cages, all covered with green velvet; two Persian sheep, whose tails weighed from twenty to five and twenty pounds a piece; a case of Persian wine; a piece of sandal wood, weighing two hundred pounds, covered with fine white calico, and borne by slaves. There was also a letter for the emperor in a silver receptacle, which was carried by a sergeant bare-headed, and a canopy above, resting on four pillars, was borne by four Singalese noblemen, whilst, at each corner, four large wax tapers were displayed in much state by four noble Singalese. This magnificent present was escorted by a large party of Dutch and Singalese. At Ruanelli it was given up to the emperor's people, who came in great numbers with arms in their hands; and, when part of the Dutch, after having executed their mission, had crossed the river, the emperor's troops treacherously attacked those who remained behind. Some of the party succeeded in swimming to the other side, but a lieutenant and two soldiers were killed by the Singalese. This clearly shews the terms of amity, which at that time subsisted between the Dutch and the Singalese; and the contempt, in which the former were held by the latter, and which neither their presents nor their flattery could remove. In the year 1680, a succeeding governor endeavoured to propitiate his Candian majesty by a present of two lions, three tigers, twelve musk cats, all of which were enclosed in beautiful cages, covered with green velvet. There were also two black Persian horses, covered with the same, twenty falcons, borne by Malabars, with a letter carried by the ambassador himself in a silver dish under a gorgeous canopy, which was borne by four Singalese nobles bare-headed. In this procession there was an ambassador from the King of Persia, who travelled in a singular car, drawn by two white oxen, covered with white calico.

* See Valentyn 5. p. 201. The same incident is related in Knox. The event occurred in the year 1670.

In the year 1672, the French under Monsieur De La Haye, Viceroy of Madagascar, made an attempt to establish some commercial relations with the Emperor of Ceylon. De la Haye entered the Bay of Trincomalee with a fleet of thirteen or fourteen ships. He first dispatched three envoys to the capital, with valuable presents to the sovereign. The envoys were very graciously received, and each of them had a gold chain, a sword inlaid with gold, and a musket presented to him by the emperor.

One of the envoys was sent back to De la Haye with the emperor's answer, who, upon the receipt, sent an ambassador with six other Frenchmen to Candy. The French fleet in the mean time was amply supplied by the orders of the emperor with every thing of which it was in need.

The emperor at first seemed willing to comply with the wishes of the French. He gave them permission not only to build a fort in the bay, but he assisted them in executing the work, and let them have some of his subjects to assist in forming the garrison. The French admiral was now under the necessity of sailing for the coast of Choromandel, but he assured the emperor by the ambassador, that he would soon return; and in the mean time, he left in the fort, which he had built, a garrison of French troops and natives. Monsieur De la Haye, however, was not able to make good his promise of returning to Ceylon; for he was attacked by the Dutch, under Admiral Van Goens, who took four of the French ships,* and compelled the rest to take refuge in Surat. Van Goens after this made himself master of the fort which the French had erected in the bay of Trincomalee.†

The French ambassador, whom De la Haye had sent to Candy, conducted himself with such singular indiscretion, as to excite the indigna-

* When Knox wrote, he did not distinctly know the fate of De la Haye's fleet.

† Valentyn, Beschryving der Kust van Choromandel, p. 64..

tion of the emperor, and to bring great misfortunes upon himself and his suite. He persisted in making his entry into Candy on horseback, and in that manner even passing the palace in the way to his lodgings, in direct opposition to the earnest remonstrances of the courtiers, who represented that such a measure was not only unusual, but expressly forbidden by the emperor. These suggestions however could not prevent the Frenchman from sacrificing the success of his mission, to the gratification of his personal vanity. The emperor, though highly incensed at this violation of his orders, yet seemed willing to overlook it in this instance; and the ambassador and his suite were provided three times a day from the royal kitchen with every thing which they could need. After a short interval the ambassador was summoned to an audience of the emperor. A magnificent procession was formed to conduct him by torch-light to the palace; but as he was to be kept in waiting about two hours, according to the forms of the Singalese, the Frenchman regarded this as an intolerable affront, to which no consideration of policy or interest could induce him to submit. Some of the Singalese nobles, seeing him preparing to quit the palace, made a shew of stopping him by some elephants which were stationed about the gate; but, finding that he drew his sword and seemed determined to proceed, they let him pass, whilst his suite, surprised at his obstinacy, and alarmed for the consequences, left him and ran away.

This outrageous insult upon the grave decorum of his court, no sooner came to the ears of Raja Singa, than he ordered the ambassador and the other Frenchmen, except the two envoys who were first sent, to be well beat, and afterwards put in chains. The ambassador was kept in this situation for six months; but his companions were liberated upon an assurance that they had no participation in the indignity which had been thus wantonly offered to the sovereign.*

* The name of the ambassador, who made this signal display of egregious folly, was unknown to Knox. It was Monsieur Laisne de Nanclars de Lanerolle. He was a nobleman of considerable

Raja Singa did not die till the year 1687, when he had reigned about fifty-five years. He appears to have been at least eighty-seven years of age at the time of his decease. The person of Raja Singa was not above the middle size, but muscular and compact. His complexion a deep mahogany, his eyes large, rolling, and expressive of inquietude. Only a small portion of grey hair was scattered over his head, but he had a long shaggy beard. He wore a cap stuck full of feathers; and his dress was so fantastic, that he resembled a mountebank rather than an emperor. He was succeeded by his son Mahestane, under the title of Fimala Darma Suria Maharaja. Before his death Raja Singa is said strongly to have recommended it to his successor, to remain at peace with the Dutch, and he appears to have followed the advice. His character was inclined to superstition, and he was, in every respect, governed by his priests. He died on the fourth of June, 1707, and was succeeded by his son under the name of Wira Praccaram Narendra Singa. This prince was only seventeen years old when he began to reign, and he gave early signs of a turbulent disposition.

The military state of Ceylon had been very much neglected during the life of the former sovereign. The court was guarded only by some lascars, armed with pikes. The emperor had not 1000 soldiers who knew

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consequence, and a Protestant. Valentyn mentions a letter which he had in his possession, written in Latin by this Monsieur de Lanerolle to a Dutch ecclesiastic, then in Ceylon, of the name of Cat. See Valentyn Byzondere Zaaken van Zeylon, p. 204. When Knox returned to England, he mentions in p. 375 of the 4to edition of his "Historical Relations," that he wrote to the French Ambassador, then in London, respecting his countrymen, who were thus detained in captivity at Candy. But it does not appear that any thing was done for their release; and the reformed faith which M. de Lanerolle had embraced, would operate against him at the court of Louis XIV. Bitter dissensions arose between this M. de Lanerolle and his captive fellow countrymen at Candy, who accused him as the author of their sufferings. Raja Singa, who shewed more humanity on this occasion, than on most others, made an attempt to reconcile the enraged parties, but without the desired effect. They ate his sweetmeats, but they retained their animosity. See Knox and Valentyn.

the use of fire-arms;* and though they possessed some pieces of cannon, they were totally ignorant how to turn them to account.

The son of Raja Singa had about 300 elephants with teeth; but these were reserved merely for the parade of the court; and most of them were distributed in the neighbourhood of the pagodas, which his devotion caused him frequently to visit. When this religious sovereign went to pay his adoration on Adam's Mount, and to offer a salver (sombrero) of massy silver, with other presents, almost all these animals were exhibited in the monarch's pious train.

* At this period the Singalese manufactured their own gunpowder. They found at home the saltpetre, which was requisite for the purpose; but they were obliged to procure the sulphur from abroad. Valentyn, p. 344.

CHAP. XVI.

An Embassy of Condolence sent to Candy upon the Death of the Empress in 1721. Before his Audience at Court the Ambassador and his Suite required to throw off their Mourning and put on coloured Clothes. Introduction to the royal Presence, Details of the Ceremonial. The Ambassador opens his Mission of Condolence. Obsequious Compliance of the Dutch to the Emperor contrasted with their oppressive Conduct to his Subjects.

IN the year 1721, the death of the Empress of Ceylon caused the Dutch governor, Isaac Augustin Rumph, to dispatch an embassy to the court of Candy, in order to offer to the emperor the condolence of the East India Company, and of the governor and council of the island, upon that event. Cornelius Takel, who was the ambassador employed upon this occasion, wrote a circumstantial account of his embassy in a dispatch to the governor, which is preserved in Valentyn.* The ambassador and his suite were, of course, arrayed in mourning, as most appropriate to the object of their expedition. When they had arrived at their lodgings, at a short distance from the palace of the emperor, two nobles were sent to conduct them to the audience. These messengers were dressed in white, and informed the Dutch ambassador that old times were passed away, and a new year commenced; and that, at such a season, it would hardly be suitable for his excellency to appear before his majesty in the garb of woe. They said that his majesty had ordered all his courtiers to put off their mourning; and that it would therefore

* Byzondere zaaken van Zeylon, p. 352.

be proper for the ambassador to do the same. The ambassador represented that he had brought with him only one suit of coloured clothes, which he had been in the habit of wearing at Columbo; when it was settled that he should appear at court in that dress, and that his followers also should wear such coloured clothes as they might chance to have.

When the ambassador, attended by the first adigar, and different officers of the court, had come in front of the hall of audience, four curtains were thrown open, and the king was seen sitting upon his throne. The ambassador pulled off his cap, and kneeled down upon one knee; but all the other persons, with the interpreter, crossing their hands over their heads, fell down six times successively prostrate upon the earth. After getting up and proceeding five or six steps, they repeated these prostrations for a second and a third time.

The emperor now inquired concerning the health of the governor and council, and the treatment which the ambassador had experienced on his journey from Sitavaca to Maoye. After these questions had been put and answered, the ambassador had leave to sit down. The ambassador then, in the name of the governor and council, made formal inquiries after his majesty's health, and represented the ardent desire of the Dutch government to cultivate his friendship, and to promote his interest. The emperor signified his great satisfaction at these testimonies of respect on the part of the upright and faithful Hollanders, for whom he professed the most exaggerated regard, as long as the sun and moon endured.

The ambassador now proceeded to state the principal object of his mission, which was to present to his majesty the sincere condolence of the Dutch East India Company, and of the Governor and Council of Ceylon, on account of the decease of his majesty's late high-born, excellent, and all-accomplished queen. The ambassador, in the name of

the governor and the council, implored the Almighty to comfort his majesty on this afflicting occasion; and, by other rich blessings, to compensate his calamitous loss. They prayed that his majesty might, for a long course of years, be preserved in perfect and permanent health upon his golden throne; and that his majesty's good subjects, the faithful and loyal Dutch, might long experience the favour and protection of his majesty.

Such were the external ceremonies of formal complaisance which the Dutch practised towards the Candian monarch, whom they were, all the while, confining as a sort of prisoner in the interior of his dominions; whilst those of his subjects, who were more immediately exposed to their sway, were suffering by their oppression, and impoverished by their rapacity.*

* Some of the Dutch governors practised more moderation than others; but the more moderate had not always the vigour to repress the exactions of their inferiors; and it is certain that, long before the arrival of the English, the native Singalese anxiously sighed for an opportunity of shaking off their yoke. One of the Dutch governors, of the name of Versluys, contrived to raise the price of rice to such a pitch as to cause a famine in order to gratify his avarice. The predecessor of Versluys, whose name was Vuist, made an attempt to render himself an independent sovereign; and, in the prosecution of that attempt, had recourse to the most atrocious cruelties. He had nineteen persons put to the torture, by which means he extorted a confession of crimes, the perpetration of which had never even entered their thoughts. Vuist was made prisoner, and sent to Batavia, where he was sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, his body to be quartered, and those quarters to be burnt upon a pile of wood, when his ashes were to be collected and thrown into the sea. Harris's Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 288.—Modern Universal History, Vol. IX. p. 64. Vuist, the Dutch governor of Ceylon above-mentioned, succeeded Isaac Augustin Rumph, who governed the island with much humanity and talent from 1716 to 1723, when he died, as is said, of a fright, occasioned by the murder of the Fiscal Barent Van Simon and his wife at Columbo, in an insurrection of their slaves. In 1761, the oppressions of the Dutch caused a furious insurrection of the Singalese, who destroyed their plantations, and butchered the inhabitants. In 1763, the Dutch penetrated to Candy with an army of 8000 men. They retained possession of the capital for about nine months; but, at the end of this time, their force was so greatly reduced by the pestilential qualities of the climate, and by other causes, that they were compelled to abandon the town, and to retire with precipitation They suffered very much from the vigilant hostility of the Singalese during their retreat; and but a

small part of their original force survived to tell their tale at Columbo. In 1766, however, the Dutch compelled the King of Candy to treat with them on their own terms, and to cede to them those parts of the coast which they had not hitherto possessed. By one of the articles of this treaty, the humiliating prostrations to which the Dutch ambassadors had hitherto been compelled to submit at the court of Candy, were henceforth agreed to be relinquished. But in the embassy which the Dutch sent to condole with the Candian monarch on the death of his consort, the ambassador, instead of prostrating himself flat upon the ground, like the native Singalese, appears only to have kneeled upon one knee. The account which I have given of this embassy is taken from the Dutch dispatch of the ambassador himself, which may be found in Valentyn.

CHAP. XVII.

Temporary Possession of Trincomalee by the British in 1782. Mr. Boyd sent as an Embassy to the Court of Candy. The Country exhibits Signs of a scanty and poor Population. All the Supplies of the Embassy at the Expense of the Emperor. Two Individuals punished with Death for selling some Rice. Features of the Country during the Journey; Scenery near Lake Minary. Miserable Dwellings of the People. Mr. Boyd's House at Gunnoor. Conducted to the Court; his Description of the Interior of the Palace. The Hall of Audience, Person of the King, and Ceremonial of Introduction described. Humiliating Servility of the Prime Minister. Curiosity and Ignorance of the Singalese Courtiers. Termination of the Embassy,

IN 1782, a British fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, and some land forces, under that of Sir Hector Munro, made themselves masters of Trincomalee; of which, however, they were soon afterwards deprived by the French. During the temporary possession of this important place by the British, Lord Macartney, who was then Governor of Madras, sent Mr. Boyd on an embassy to the court of Candy; and, as Mr. Boyd himself has described his journey to that capital, and detailed the reception which he experienced, and the observations which he made during his route, I shall select a few of the particulars as far as they throw any light on the state of the country, and the manners of the people.

Mr. Boyd left Trincomalee on the fifth of February, 1782, and did not arrive at Gunnoor, which is stated to be five miles distant from Candy, till the fourth of March. The residence of Mr. Boyd was to be fixed at Gunnoor, whilst he was conducting his negociation with the court.

In his way to Gunnoor, Mr. Boyd remarked the visible signs of an impoverished and scanty population. The villages which he saw on his route were usually composed of only a few small huts; and the inhabitants generally fled at his approach. The excuse alleged was, that they were gone to the paddy fields; but the real motive was to escape the necessity of furnishing any supplies to the embassy. The ambassador and his suite, according to the custom of the country, were to be furnished with every thing at the expense of the emperor; but they nevertheless experienced great want of provisions at different stages of their journey; and they were never very abundantly supplied. All, however, which they did receive, they were to owe to the gratuitous hospitality of the sovereign; nor were the natives permitted to take any compensation for whatever they might furnish. At the village of Wishtegal, in his way to Candy, Mr. Boyd, who was in great distress for rice with which to supply the different persons in his suite, purchased about 500 measures of that grain, for which he paid twenty pagodas. But on his return from Candy, he found that the two inhabitants of Wishtegal, who had sold him this seasonable supply, had both been put to death for their temerity.

In part of his journey, Mr. Boyd describes the pathways as good, but overhung with wood, and interspersed with abrupt intervals of rock and precipice. In some places the wood formed such condensed bowers, as to cause a deep shade during the day, and to exclude the sight of the stars at night. Here and there the road was more open; and the varieties of the ground burst upon the view in all the charms of wild landscape. As he proceeded from Pulian-Caravvety to Wishtegal, along the margin of Lake Minary, he says that "the most noble scenes of nature rose on every side." The hills were of vast height and magnitude, exhibiting great diversities of form, and opening at different turns into vallies of great variety and extent.

Mr. Boyd was not impressed with any favourable ideas of the agri-

culture of the country, or the industry of the people. Despotism, indeed, so absolute and capricious as that of Candy at this period, could not but be very inauspicious to the efforts of individual diligence, and to general cultivation.

The huts of the people appeared to Mr. Boyd to be ill and clumsily constructed. Even at Nallendy-Caravvety, which is represented as a place of "particular estimation and consequence," the houses are described as consisting of huts of mud walls and straw, ranged in small squares, some within others, with one elevated in the centre, and larger than the rest.

When Mr. Boyd and his suite arrived at Gunnoor, where his lodging was to be fixed till the completion of his embassy, he found that the house, which had been prepared for his reception, was "a large building, consisting of a square within a square, and capable of containing five hundred persons." The walls were of clay, but "sufficiently strong and well finished." He describes the adjacent country as beautiful, varied, and highly cultivated.

Mr. Boyd was conducted to the precincts of the palace by one of the dessaves, or provincial governors, whom he describes as an old man of the most engaging manners; and, at the same time, he remarks, that he was surprised by a sort of courtly politeness, which he found to be universal amongst the people. He represents the palace as "a large stone building, with sixteen large stone steps leading up to the entrance, at each side of which was placed a bowman; two huge fellows fantastically dressed." The whole area below was filled with soldiers and elephants. Between forty and fifty of these animals were drawn up in a semi-circle, with two fine white ones in the centre.

After passing through an outer and an inner court, Mr. Boyd was directed to the front of a very wide and high arch, with a white curtain

thrown across. The removal of this curtain exhibited to his view a long hall, divided by large arches in the centre, and two small ones on each side. These arches formed two aisles, within which the courtiers were sitting, not cross-legged, but with knees projecting straight forward. The hall was lighted by lamps, attached to the pillars of the arches, and large wax tapers burning at the upper end of each aisle. A secretary sat near one of these tapers, to record what passed.

The hall terminated in a large alcove, within which the king sat, upon a very high throne. He wore a large crown upon his head, and is depicted as a large black man, with an intelligent countenance, and about thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age.

The removal of the curtain, which concealed the interior of the hall, was the signal for those genuflections of the ambassador, and those prostrations of the courtiers who attended him, which I have before had occasion to describe; and which constituted a very essential ingredient in the ceremonial of the Candian court. Mr. Boyd gives a lively description of these prostrations. He says—"that those who performed them almost literally licked the dust; prostrating themselves with their faces close to the stone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms as in the attitude of swimming; then rising to their knees by a sudden spring from the breast, like what is called the salmon leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words, of the most extravagant meaning that can be conceived—'That the head of the king of kings might reach beyond the sun! that he might live a hundred thousand years,'" &c.

During the audience, Mr. Boyd observed an instance of humiliation in the prime minister of the sovereign, that was even more abject and debasing than any of the preceding, which appear to have been sufficiently servile. "Something happened which made it necessary for the minister to come to the lower end of the hall. I did not observe him

set out," says Mr. Boyd, " but, turning my head by accident, I cannot express my surprise when I saw him, a venerable grey-headed old man, coming trotting down one of the aisles, like a dog, on all fours! He returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne."

Mr. Boyd remained nine or ten days at Gunnoor after this audience, during which interval he had several visits from persons about the court, and discussions with some of the ministers upon the subject of the embassy. In his conversations with the Singalese courtiers, Mr. Boyd found their curiosity very great, and their information very scanty and circumscribed. He mentions that they had never heard of America; and they were surprised that they now heard nothing of the Portuguese, whose power and bigotry were formerly such objects of their abhorrence and their fears.

The negotiation of Mr. Boyd terminated with hardly any other effect than bare professions of a pacific and friendly disposition.*

* The Government of Madras had sent Mr. Pybus on an embassy to Candy in 1763, in order to negociate an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the king, or emperor, and the East India Company. But, as the English were then at peace with the Dutch, the overtures of Mr. Pybus ended only in the disappointment of the Singalese in their subsequent hostilities with that people, and operated very much in disposing the court of Candy to accede to the propositions of Mr. Boyd. Mr. Boyd, who conducted the abovementioned embassy, was a man of genius and talents, and has been believed by some, though I think without any sufficient reason, to have been the author of the celebrated Letters under the signature of Junius. During six years and a half of a laborious literary life, from July, 1807 to December, 1813, my attention was, on several occasions, called to the examination of this subject; but I remember to have been much less impressed by the pretensions of Mr. Boyd, than by those of another gentleman, whose name has been seldom mentioned during the discussion of this interesting point of literary curiosity. The Letters which have been recently published, " proving a late prime minister to have been Junius," do not, I think, establish the authorship of the Duke of Portland; but they still render it highly credible that the Duke of Portland must have known who Junius was, and that Junius must have derived some of his information from the duke. The case of the Duke of Portland could never have been so repeatedly mentioned, and have formed such a prominent feature in the Letters of Junius, if the author had not written under the cognizance, and more or less at the instigation, of the duke. The direct mention of

the duke's case in so many Letters, and, above all, the reiterated allusion to it in so many more, prove it incontestably to have been a question of personal interest either in the author of the Letters or in the individual, with whose cognizance and under whose influence the Letters were composed. Now no proof has been adduced to shew that the duke himself had sufficient literary capacity for the authorship of the Letters; but there is certainly very strong presumptive evidence that at least some of them must have been written under his cognizance and inspection. Who then was the powerful agent, whose pen served to vindicate the claims of the duke, and to vilify both the sovereign and his ministers? Shall I invoke the manes of C****** L**** to reveal the disputed name? I had more than one conversation with the late Duke of Grafton concerning the Letters of Junius; but his grace certainly never entertained the smallest suspicion that the Duke of Portland was at all implicated in the composition.

CHAP. XVIII.

Dominion of the Portuguese and Dutch; Bigotry of the one, Avarice of the other; Degeneracy of both. Cowardice of the Dutch; their Singalese Settlements conquered by the British in 1796. *Honourable Frederic North, Governor.*

THE dominion of the Portuguese in Ceylon lasted for about 150 years; and that of the Dutch for nearly the same period, when it was added to the number of the British possessions in the East.

The conquest of Ceylon by the Dutch was in a great measure owing to the hatred which had been excited by the bigotry, intolerance, and cruelty, of the Portuguese. The Dutch soon shewed themselves as deficient as their predecessors in the great virtues of justice and humanity; but their tyranny was not, like that of the Portuguese, at all influenced by the desire to propagate an exclusive faith, but was the effect of unmitigated rapacity and avarice.

The Portuguese were under the influence of a sentiment of bigotry, which, when it becomes a predominant feeling in the human breast, equally disregards the suggestions of caution, the admonitions of prudence, and the higher considerations of humanity. It is a blind impulse, and it has all the effect of blindness both visual and mental, in the strange deviations which it causes from the straight path of virtue and of truth, and consequently of the best policy and the most stable interest.

The Dutch did not bend before the grim Moloch of religious bigotry, nor did they worship at the shrine of superstition; but cent per cent was

their faith, gold was their object, and Mammon was their god. But this idol of the Dutch is as unfavourable to the growth of the softer virtues, and to all that tends to humanize the exercise of power, as that of the Portuguese. Avarice is a cold calculating feeling, and where it totally pervades the bosom, absorbing the affections, and concentrating the desires in a single object, it renders the heart as impenetrable as a stone to those moral considerations which are more particularly associated with a benevolent regard for the happiness of those who are placed in subjection to our will, or within the sphere of our influence. The insensate avarice of the Dutch proved as unfavourable to the happiness of the people of Ceylon, as the enthusiastic bigotry of the Portuguese.

Both the Portuguese and the Dutch, in the first instance, established their power by heroic effort and persevering enterprise; but neither of them long displayed the same energetic qualities in preserving what they had acquired. When the Portuguese were driven from the island, they had greatly degenerated from the vigorous, daring, and enterprising intrepidity of their ancestors; and, in the year 1796, the Dutch suffered this important settlement to be wrested from them by the British with a degree of contemptible imbecility and unresisting cowardice, of which the instances are not common in the annals of modern warfare. There is a high sentiment of honour operating in the bosoms of men in the present period, which is so active, as almost to counteract the effects of temperament in individual instances, and to render even cowards ashamed not to be brave. But, when the Dutch were called upon to defend their towns and forts on the coast of Ceylon against the attacks of the British, they seem to have lost both the thirst of distinction and the dread of shame; and to have felt none of those elevating sentiments which invigorate courage, and make men prefer even death itself to contumely and disgrace.

I shall not load my page with a detail of the operations by which, in 1796, the whole coast of this island became an easy conquest to the arms

of Great Britain, under the conduct of Colonel Stuart. The sloth, lassitude, and pusillanimity of the Dutch,* formed a conspicuous contrast with the energy, intrepidity, and highmindedness of their adversaries.

The conquered provinces remained for a short time as an appendage to the presidency of Madras, when they were transferred to the crown of Great Britain, and rendered wholly independent of the East India Company. The Honourable Frederic North was sent to Ceylon in 1798, as governor of those parts of the island which the British had subdued.

* The Dutch surrendered Columbo to the British, without any resistance, though the number of the garrison was fully equal to that of the force sent against it; but, after the British troops had entered the fort, Mr. Percival says that he was assured, by an officer who was an eye-witness, that "the Dutch soldiers went so far as even to strike at our men with their muskets, calling them insulting and opprobrious names, and even spitting upon them as they passed. This behaviour," adds the same writer, "entirely corresponded with their former cowardice, and was equally despised by our countrymen." Percival's Account of Ceylon, p. 95.

CHAP. XIX.

Death of the King of Candy in 1798; *his Successor raised to the Throne by the Arts of Pelemé Talavé. The Queen, her Brother, Mootto Sawmy, with the Relations of the deceased Monarch, protected by the British. Ambitious Projects of Pelemé Talavé. His Overtures to Mr. North. His Intentions developed to Mr. Boyd. General Macdonald's Embassy to Candy, Circumstances of, and Details respecting.*

BEFORE the commencement of Mr. North's administration, a negociation had been set on foot between the government of Madras and the Court of Candy; but, though some important advantages were proposed to be conceded to the latter, the treaty, which had been actually signed by the Governor of Fort St. George, was subsequently refused to be ratified by the Candian sovereign. This monarch died in 1798, when the government was transferred by the treacherous intrigues of Pelemé Talavé, the chief adigar, or prime minister, to a young Malabar,* without any pretensions of birth or talents to the crown, but who appeared to be a mere puppet in the hands of the artful miscreant, to whom he owed his elevation.

The queen and all the relations of the deceased monarch were thrown into prison; but some of these, along with the queen's brother, Mootto Sawmy, afterwards made their escape, and solicited the protection of the

* Lord Valentia says, Travels, Vol. I. p. 279, that the abovementioned monarch was "a son of the late king by a Singalese mother, and consequently a bastard, since the King of Candy can only marry a Malabar, which is his own cast. The young man, therefore, had no rightful claim to the crown; and the adigar did not scruple to avow that he raised him to the throne, with the intention of removing him when convenient, and restoring the Singalese line, that is, of usurping the crown himself." This adigar is mentioned as the representative of one of the noblest Singalese families.

British government.* Mootto Sawmy, who was conceived to have the best title to the throne, was placed at Jaffnapatam under the charge of a British officer; and the other fugitives were kept at Columbo, in order to remove all reasonable ground of complaint from the established government at Candy.

In 1799, Pelemé Talavé, who has been just mentioned, began, in a mysterious manner, to try how far the British governor could be induced, by the most subtle misrepresentations and most complicated artifice, to co-operate with him in a scheme which he had formed for his own personal aggrandisement. His principal object was to depose the monarch whom he had raised to the throne, and to render himself the sovereign of the Candian territory, under the pretence that he would hold it subject to the supremacy of the English. Mr. North, however, indignantly refused to listen to these insidious overtures.

Pelemé Talavé, however, was not a man to be diverted from his purpose by slight obstacles. He afterwards found means of developing his projects more fully to Mr. Boyd, the secretary to the government at Columbo. He declared that, in raising the present puppet to the throne, his object had been to render the race of Malabar sovereigns contemptible, in order the more easily to effect its extermination, and to establish a native dynasty.

In order to ascertain as far as possible the real state of affairs in Candy, Mr. North deemed it expedient to send a special embassy to the court of the reigning sovereign. In March, 1800, General Macdowall was accordingly dispatched on this mission; of which, as it exhibits some curious details, I shall relate a few particulars, on the authority of Percival's Account of Ceylon, of the Asiatic Annual Register for 1804, and of an account of the embassy which is contained in the publication

* Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 160, &c. Asiatic Annual Register for 1804.

of Mr. Cordiner, and extracted from the manuscript diary of Mr. Macpherson, who was secretary to the embassy.

This embassy, which was attended by a numerous escort of Europeans and natives, besides pioneers and lascars, left Columbo on the 12th of March, with a letter from the governor to the king, and another to the first adigar. The letter to his Singalese majesty was treated during the whole route, with that sort of sacred reverence, which, in despotic governments, is often paid to all the circumstances of royalty. The letter, with all the requisite formalities, was placed upon the head of one of the appohamies; and, when the ambassador crossed the river near Sitavaca,* and entered the Candian dominions, a round of blank cartridges was fired over it by a corporal and six men.

Soon after the British had crossed the river, and the embassy had reached the choultry, which was appointed for its reception, the first adigar, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, advanced in great state by torch light, in order to pay a visit of ceremony to the ambassador. General Macdowall advanced to meet the adigar, who was attended by about a thousand men and seven elephants. "The ambassador went up to him with both hands open, the palms uppermost

* Sitavaca was the ancient residence of kings or rajas. The kings of Sitavaca were rulers of all the low lands, and were of such paramount importance, that the kings and chiefs of the hill and wood country were their tributaries. The kings of Sitavaca boasted that they were of nobler blood and purer descent than those of the high lands. They asserted themselves to be genuine descendants from the legitimate stock of a Prince of Tanassery, and a daughter of the royal race of Madura, whilst the Candian princes were only bastards, and of less honourable extraction. But it is certain that when the King of Sitavaca was conquered by the kings of Candy and Uva, they found it requisite to pay so much deference to the people in favour of the high claims of the extinguished dynasty, as to undergo the ceremony of inauguration in the ancient Palace of Sitavaca. This practice was still observed on the arrival of the Portuguese. Valentyn mentions, p. 229, that the palace at Sitavaca had been repaired by the Dutch, and that the gates, walls, and architectural embellishments attested its original magnificence; though he adds, that it was not to be compared with the ruins of the buildings left by Malabar sovereigns.

and joined; the adigar advanced and took hold of them." After this, the ambassador shewed the same mark of respect to the three mottiars, by whom the adigar was attended, and sprinkled rose water on a handkerchief, that each of them held in his hand. The ambassador then taking the adigar's left hand in his right, proceeded to the place in the residence where the king's letter was deposited; and, having testified their respect to this appurtenance of royalty, a conference ensued, which related rather to questions of ceremony, than to matters of importance.

Two days after this formal interview, the adigar waited on the ambassador in his customary pomp, and observing on his way some British officers and soldiers, who, in order to have a clearer view of the procession, had fixed themselves on an eminence, below which it was to pass, he expressed considerable displeasure, and desired that they might be ordered down; as no one in his presence ought to be placed higher than himself, in whom the majesty of the great King of Candy, the descendant of the golden sun, was represented.

Several flags and streamers were borne before the adigar, with a variety of musical instruments peculiar to the country, and a number of persons cracking immense whips, so as to produce a hideous discordancy.

The presents, which the embassy were conveying to his Candian majesty, were here delivered to the adigar at his desire. They consisted of an elegant state coach, drawn by six horses; a betel dish, with ornaments of solid gold, which had belonged to the late Tippoo Sultan, of rose water, and other articles.

The following day, the ambassador having ordered some alterations to be made in the road, which was too narrow, hollow, and precipitous, for the passage of artillery, the adigar, who appears to have regarded

the embassy with considerable jealousy and inquietude, expressed his disapprobation of this proceeding, though he knew that the British escort could not advance, unless the road was improved. "The whole track," says Captain Percival, "which it was intended we should pursue, in our progress to Candy, was marked out by twigs and bushes, set up at proper distances." No intercourse was permitted between the natives and the English on the way; and the attendants on the camp were so reserved, either from terror or from choice, that no information could be obtained about the state of the kingdom.

Captain Percival says, that the adigar was acquainted with a more practicable road than that which was marked out for the British; but that he purposely selected this, in order to expose them to the greatest possible inconvenience. A large party of Candian troops, though kept out of sight, is said constantly to have watched their movements, and attended their march; whilst the inhabitants, in all directions, were assembled in arms. We cannot well be surprised at these suspicious precautions of the Candian court during the presence of an European embassy in its territory, with several pieces of artillery and a considerable number of troops. The Candians had experienced, for near three centuries, the perfidy, cruelty, and oppression of the Portuguese and the Dutch; and how could they tell that British bosoms cherished more pure and exalted sentiments of justice and humanity?

During part of their march, Captain Percival* complains of the inconvenience which the troops suffered from the multitudes of leeches by which they were infested on the way. "Most of the soldiers had their legs and different parts of their bodies streaming with blood. On taking off my gloves and boots, I found that I had not escaped; for what I had taken to be nothing more than excessive perspiration, now turned out to be the effects of these leeches." The officers and men,

* P. 387.

who were employed in clearing the jungles, seemed to be completely covered with blood. No precautions were sufficient to elude the attacks of these blood-suckers, which swarmed amongst the bushes and the grass. The Dutch used to represent them as one of the most pertinacious enemies against whom they had to contend.

The ambassador, having found it expedient from the difficulties of the road, to leave the greater part of his troops* behind, proceeded towards the capital on the thirty-first of March, with no other escort than two companies of sepoys, and two of Malays. The country, through which they passed, appears in general to have been highly cultivated, and much of the scenery was very varied and beautiful. But besides the badness of the roads, the troops were much incommoded in their march by the intensity of the heat, and by the almost constant rain, accompanied with violent storms of thunder and lightning.

* The troops which were thus left behind, were stationed in a tope of cocoa trees, called the King's Garden, on the banks of the Calany-ganga, within a mile of Ruanelli. Captain Percival says, that the detachment remained encamped in this situation for upwards of a month, during which, the rapid changes of temperature that the troops experienced, had the most pernicious effect upon their health. Heavy rain, with thunder and lightning, usually closed the evening, thick damp fogs loaded the atmosphere at night, and the early part of the day was marked by excessive heat. No circumstances could well have a stronger tendency to produce disease. "Dysenteries, fluxes, and liver complaints became frequent, and the jungle fever began to make its appearance." The encampment of the troops was surrounded by such deep and intricate woods, that no one could stir out without danger of irretrievably losing his way in the maze. "Having procured the adigar's leave," says Captain Percival, "to make shooting excursions, and also people acquainted with the country to conduct us, we had an opportunity of seeing several of their villages, most of which we found totally deserted by their inhabitants. On the approach of a red coat, the alarm was instantly given, and the natives, men, women, and children, fled directly into the woods. It was not till after some time, that we could persuade a few of them to remain in their habitations; but I never saw any thing in the figure of a woman, from the time I entered the Candian territory, to the moment of my quitting it. We found it very difficult to procure hogs, fowls, and fruits from the natives, although such articles were in great abundance in the country. This not a little surprised us, as the king's officers had expressly issued orders, directing us to be supplied with every sort of necessaries."

On the tenth of April the ambassador arrived at a place near the capital, where his residence was to be fixed during his stay. It now became necessary to settle the forms, to which the British ambassador might not think it beneath the dignity of his mission to submit, on his introduction to the Candian sovereign. The Dutch, who had never much regard for national honour, except as it was identified with the gains of their merchants, and the interest of their factories, had submitted to the most degrading ceremonies. They had sometimes endured to be led blindfolded into the capital; and had condescended to prostrate themselves on appearing in the royal presence. When the British ambassador was told that the King of Candy would not receive him standing, he answered with becoming spirit, that sooner than degrade the sovereign, whom he represented, by prostration, he would return to Columbo without proceeding farther in the object of his mission. The Candian monarch on this occasion gave way to the firm remonstrances of the ambassador.

After the requisite arrangements had been made for the grand ceremonial, the British ambassador, according to the intimation which he had received, left his house at nine oclock in the evening to proceed to the palace. Having crossed the Mahavillaganga in boats, General Macdowall and his suite were conveyed in palanquins, at a very slow rate, to a place where they halted, within the limits of the city, and half a mile from the palace.

The road to the palace was up a steep hill with narrow crooked paths. The crowd of natives, who early gathered round the procession, together with the glare of torches, made it impossible to take any accurate view of the city. The street, through which the embassy passed, was long and broad, and terminated by the palace, surrounded by an high wall and gardens.* The houses, though low huts of them-

* Percival, p. 401.

selves, were erected upon high banks on each side of the street, which forms an area below. Mr. Cordiner's account* says, "Upon the road we could only remark, that there were a good many houses upon each side of it, and that there were rice fields where there were not houses to obstruct the view. The road was pretty level, but bad from neglect in several parts. In four or five different places high palisades ran across the road, with gates in the centre of them; at each of these gates we found small guards of about twenty-five Malays each, and at three of them we observed two pieces of cannon mounted upon carriages, with their muzzles pointed at the moon."

The embassy were detained about an hour at the halting place, which has been just mentioned, when they proceeded through a drenching rain to the first gate of the palace, where they were compelled to wait half an hour longer before the first adigar came to announce his majesty's permission for the ambassador to enter the royal residence. When his excellency arrived at the second gate, he took the king's letter from "off the appahamy's head, and holding it in both hands level with his eyes, instead of putting it on his head, as was the practice of the Dutch ambassadors, he moved on to the hall of audience, the two adigars holding him by the arms."

As the embassy entered the hall † of audience, several curtains were removed, which exhibited a full view of the king upon his throne, in a recess at the farther end of the apartment. This was the signal for six of the nobles to prostrate themselves on the ground, and for the ambassador and his suite to kneel. The language of an Eastern court always

* P. 299.

† This state-room, says Percival, had alternate arches and pillars along its sides, and bore a considerable resemblance to the aisle of a church. The pillars and arches were adorned with muslin flowers, and ornaments made of the plantain leaf, which had a pretty effect. The king sat under one of the larger arches at the farther end of the hall, on a kind of platform covered with a carpet. That part of the hall where the king sat was not so well lighted as the rest, in order to impress more awe upon the beholder.

approaches more or less to that of religious adoration; and the exaggeration of the flattery is usually in proportion to the rigour of the despotism. In this instance, after the six nobles just mentioned had prostrated themselves several times before the throne, they exclaimed, in language which sounds like blasphemy in the ears of an European, "Oh, king, live for ever!"

These nobles having performed this ceremony of prostration, the ambassador, who was still held by the first and second adigars, advanced with the letter towards the throne. "Having reached the foot of the throne, the first adigar took off the muslin that covered the letter, and his majesty took the letter from the ambassador's hands, and laid it down on his left side. The ambassador was now led backwards to the spot, where we remained all the while kneeling. Having reached us, he kneeled also."

After his Candian majesty had kept the ambassador and his suite for some time upon their knees, the king at length condescended to let them sit down on the carpet.

The communication between the king and the ambassador was conducted through the medium of six, or, according to Captain Percival, five persons, and in three different languages. When the king had any thing to say, he addressed himself to the second adigar, who, after offering up a prayer that his majesty might live for ever, repeated the royal words to the dessave, or headman of Uva, who repeated them to the Singalese interpreter that attended the embassy, who repeated them in Portuguese to a person who explained them in English, as Mr. Cordiner says, or in French, as Captain Percival says, to the ambassador. When the ambassador made any reply to his majesty, the same tedious process of communication was obliged to be pursued.

After this audience, the ambassador was conducted by the adigar to a

room which contained refreshments, consisting of balls of flour and honey, sweet cakes, and fruit. The ambassador was then attended as before to the halting place, about half a mile from the palace, where his excellency and his suite got into their palanquins, a little before five o'clock in the morning, and returned to the residence of the embassy at Gonaroova a little after six.

From the description which Mr. Cordiner has given of his Singalese majesty, he does not appear to have been far removed from an ideot; but other accounts are less in unison with such a supposition. "He seemed very vain of his dress, and very uneasy on his throne: he kept constantly shaking his head, to display the precious stones in his crown, and pulled down his vest or armour to shew off the jewels with which it was studded. He seemed particularly fond of a large round ornament, which was suspended from his neck." He had two attendants with fly-flaps, whilst he conversed and laughed at intervals with persons whose heads occasionally appeared. He was a young man, very black, with a light beard,* a large head, and a vacant countenance.†

* Percival, p. 406.

† Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 306. Percival says, "He was dressed in a robe of very fine muslin, embroidered with gold, fitted close at the breast, with several folds drawn round the waist, and flowing down from thence like a lady's gown. His arms were bare from the elbow downwards. On his fingers he wore a number of very broad rings, set with precious stones of different sorts, while a number of gold chains were suspended round his neck over a stiff frilled piece of muslin resembling a Queen Elizabeth's ruff." His Ceylonese majesty is sometimes termed, by way of distinction, the king who wears a crown, as the other Asiatic princes are prohibited from decorating their heads with that ensign of royal state.

CHAP. XX.

Return of the Embassy; failure of its Object. Machinations of Pelemé Talavé. Act of Aggression on the Part of the Candians; War unavoidable. Two Divisions of the British Army reach Candy; find it deserted by the Enemy. Description of the Palace, Town, and Vicinity. Mootto Sawmy placed upon the Throne; an impolitic Proceeding. Arts of Pelemé Talavé to entrap the British. Critical Circumstances of the British Garrison at Candy. Pelemé Talavé's Repetitions of Perfidy; General Macdowall deceived by his treacherous Overtures. Retires from Candy with Part of the Garrison. Pelemé Talavé amuses the Governor at Columbo by a Negociation; designs to seize the Person of Mr. North at a Conference; Progress of his Stratagems. Distress of the Garrison at Candy. Attempts to produce Desertion increase. Numbers of the Enemy.

THIS embassy, of which the former chapter has furnished some descriptive details, at last returned without effecting the purpose for which it had been sent. One of the propositions which the English ambassador made, appears to have awakened the jealousy of the Candian court. This was to make a sort of military road through the Candian territory, for the purpose of facilitating the communication between the British troops in the different garrisons on the coast. It appears evidently to have been the policy of the chief adigar, Pelemé Talavé, to amuse the British by the negociation, and to delude them with specious representations and perfidious offers, till he found what he thought a favourable opportunity of gratifying his ambition by making himself master of the interior, and expelling them from the coast. To assist in the execution of this scheme, he seems to have been long determined to bring on a war between the British and the Candians, calculating upon the unwhole-

some climate of the latter as a powerful auxiliary in the prosecution of hostilities and the extermination of the enemy.

In the spring of 1802, the Candians, who had for some time been secretly making preparations for war, began the first act of aggression, by detaining some British traders who had resorted to the capital, and by the violent spoliation of some native merchants, who were under the protection of the British government. Repeated promises of satisfaction for these acts of injustice were made by the Candian government, but which were as often violated, till the British had no alternative but that of base submission to a treacherous enemy, or of open war. In short, war, though adverse to the wishes and the policy of Mr. North, had become actually unavoidable.

The division of the British army from Columbo, under the command of Major-General Macdowall, which was destined to invade the Candian territory, was put in motion the thirty-first of January, 1803; and, on the fourth of February, another division, under Colonel Barbut, marched from Trincomalee for the same destination. Both these divisions of the army, which amounted to more than 3000 Europeans and Malays, arrived nearly at the same time at the capital of the Candian territory. They had experienced very little resistance on the way, though they had great obstacles to overcome in transporting their artillery, ammunition, and stores, through a country so destitute of roads, and so full of precipices and ravines.

When these divisions of the army, of which that from Columbo had performed a march of 103 miles, and that from Trincomalee of 145 miles, formed a junction at Candy; they found the city entirely deserted by the government and inhabitants, and occupied only by a few pariah dogs. The town had been set on fire* in several places; but the British

* Asiatic Annual Register for 1804, p. 12. Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 180.

arrived in sufficient time to extinguish the flames, though not before part of the palace had been consumed. The king had removed all his treasure, and the inhabitants had destroyed almost every thing valuable, which they could not carry away. A few days after this event, the enemy shewed themselves in considerable force near the city, but they were repulsed with little loss, and with great slaughter.

The palace is described as an immense pile of building, constructed of stone and wood, covered over with a white cement, called chunam. Some of the apartments,* which had been spared by the flames, contained elegant sets of glass and china ware, with some cups of gold, decorated with silver fillagree. One of the rooms was covered with pier glasses. The palace had been repaired and ornamented since the embassy in 1800. It comprehends within its walls two temples to Boodh, one Hindoo pagoda, a cemetery, and an immense variety of arsenals and storehouses. "Amongst some of the stores," says Mr. Cordiner, "was found a profusion of soft paper, made in the country, of the bark of trees: the sheets were rolled up, and some of them measured twenty feet in length."

The town of Candy consists of one broad street, which is two miles in length, with the palace at the end, and with numerous lanes branching from the principal thoroughfares. The houses are mostly of mud, thatched with straw and leaves, with small apertures instead of windows.

The surrounding scenery is rich and beautiful. The land is highly cultivated, interspersed with villages and rivulets. Some of the mountains are cleared to their summits, formed in ridges, and sown with grain. "The fields below are terraced in the most regular manner on different levels, so that not a drop of water can be lost." The vallies are enriched with areca, jack, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, plaintain, and

* Cordiner.

pumple nose trees, with fields of paddy and other grain, all fertilized by assiduous and skilful irrigation. The royal garden was enriched with abundance of vegetables, and the river near the city swarmed with fish.

As soon as the inhabitants in the northern and eastern provinces were said to be desirous of having Mootto Sawmy, the brother of the late queen, for their king, he was accordingly removed to Candy, and placed in the palace, where he enjoyed the transient parade of royalty; but none of the people of authority in the neighbouring country evinced any disposition to submit to his sway, or to support his power. This attempt of the British to place Mootto Sawmy upon the throne, appears to have been very inconsiderate and impolitic, even if we suppose it compatible with the previous negociations respecting the settlement of the government. Lord Valentia says, that Mootto Sawmy was ineligible to the crown on account of a fraud, for which the late king had subjected him to a public punishment.*

After abandoning Candy to the English troops, the adigar had posted himself, along with his royal puppet, at Hangaramketty, a strong post, about two days march from the capital. From this point the insidious minister began to exert his arts upon the honest simplicity of Colonel Barbut, who commanded the British garrison in that place. He accordingly made some specious overtures to that officer, to which he unwarily listened. The adigar promised, that if Colonel Barbut would send a sufficient force to Hangaramketty, he would deliver up the king to the British. A sufficient force was accordingly dispatched upon this disastrous expedition.

After experiencing repeated attacks and some loss, from parties of the enemy who were placed in ambush on the way, the British at last reached their appointed destination. But the monarch and his minister had

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. I. 4to. p. 298.

previously taken flight before their arrival. Colonel Barbut began now to suspect the treachery of the adigar; but had he not before had sufficent experience of his perfidy? The colonel, however, returned with as much expedition as possible to Candy, before the adigar had time to complete the catastrophe which he meditated, by drawing the British still further into the country, till their retreat would have become impossible.

The British garrison at Candy soon found themselves in perilous and embarrassing circumstances. Numerous bodies of the enemy were posted in ambush round the city, and destroyed every straggler that came in their way. In order to stimulate the activity of their treacherous vengeance, the adigar promised ten rupees for the head of every European, and five for that of every native soldier in the British service.

About the end of March, when the rainy season had commenced, the adigar, who well knew that the sickliness of the climate would soon reduce the number of his enemies, determined to make farther overtures for negociation, in order, as much as possible, to relax the vigilance of the British, and to make still more sure of their destruction. As if he thought that nature had set no limits to English credulity, and that their confidence was never to be destroyed by his perfidy, he dispatched two letters, to propose pacific arrangements to the government at Columbo. He also, at the same time, sent the second adigar into the town of Candy, with a firelock and match wrapped up in white muslin, as an emblem of peace. General Macdowall, who was then at the head of the garrison, received this minister with marks of the most respectful attention; and, in their conferences, it was agreed that the king, who was to be deposed, should be placed under the protection of the British; that the supreme power should be vested in Pelemé Talavé; that a suitable provision should be made for Mootto Sawmy, who was to reside at Jaffnapatam, and that there should be a cessation of hostilities between the British and the Singalese.

Owing probably to the sense of security, which a trust in the fidelity of these engagements, on the part of the enemy, had unfortunately inspired, General Macdowall left Candy on the first of April, "taking with him his majesty's fifty-first regiment, the Ceylon native infantry, and part of the detachment of the Bengal artillery. At the same time, part of his majesty's nineteenth and Malay regiments set out on their march to Trincomalee." The garrison of Candy was thus reduced to about one thousand troops, of whom more than one half were Malays.

On the day after General Macdowall had retired from Candy, the chief adigar, eager to seize his prey, advanced with a large force within three miles of that place;* but he still had the art to masque his ultimate designs, and all the while kept amusing the government at Columbo with overtures for a definitive treaty of peace. In order to effect this purpose, Mr. North, at the particular desire of the adigar, on the third of May, actually admitted him to a personal conference at Dambadenia. During this conference, the insidious miscreant was remarked to exhibit much nervous agitation, which was ascribed to fear: but which, it afterwards appeared, arose from his hesitating diffidence about executing a plot that he had formed at this time, to seize the person of the governor. This attempt he was finally deterred from making, by the strength of Mr. North's escort, and by the unexpected arrival of Colonel Barbut from Candy, with a detachment of 300 Malays.

But, notwithstanding this intended plot, which was not discovered till afterwards, the adigar was so expert in dissimulation, that Mr. Cordiner says, "it was now thought that the adigar was sincere, and that he had at length determined to act with good faith." On this occasion, the adigar ratified with his signature and seal the terms of that conven-

* Mr. Cordiner says, Vol. II. p. 199, "But *the garrison remained in great tranquillity*, because it was confidently expected that the truce would bring about a peace agreeable to both parties."

tion, which had been previously arranged in Candy between General Macdowall and the second adigar.

Notwithstanding this treaty, which was intended only to deceive the British, the Candians drew their lines nearer to the city, and entrenched themselves in strong positions in the immediate vicinity. The garrison, which was under the command of Major Davie, began to suffer greatly from the pestiferous nature of the climate. Almost all the European troops were confined to the hospital. The swelling of the rivers, owing to the violence of the rains, had at the same time intercepted almost all communication between Candy and Columbo.

Great efforts were now made, by the emissaries of the adigar, to produce desertion amongst the Malays; and great praise is due, on this occasion, to the incorruptible integrity of Captain Nouradeen, a native officer, who commanded that corps, and who resisted the most flattering offers of the enemy.

Notwithstanding the repeated instances of perfidy in the conduct of the adigar, he still placed so much dependence on his own wiles, or had so much confidence in the credulity of his enemies, that, on the thirteenth of June, he sent a letter to the commandant of Candy, in which he represented that he had incurred the displeasure of the king, by his endeavours to serve the English, and urged the major to send another expedition to Hangaramketty, as the most efficacious means of putting an end to the war. Major Davie, however, was not, on this occasion, made the dupe of Candian artifice; but still his situation in the capital became every day more critical and precarious. Desertions became more frequent amongst the Malays, and death thinned the ranks of the Europeans; whilst the force of the enemy was augmented by new levies from all parts of the country.

CHAP. XXI.

The British Garrison at Candy attacked by the Enemy. Major Davie, the Commander, capitulates. The Garrison march out of Candy; Attempt in vain to cross the Mahavilla-ganga; surrounded by the Enemy; submit to dishonourable Propositions; Reflections upon their Conduct. The British Troops deliver up their Arms, and are all massacred, with the Exception of two Officers who escaped, and of two who were spared. Ensign Grant's Defence of Dambadenia; and Major Johnson's Expedition to Candy in 1804, *recorded in Note.*

THE palace at Candy, in which the British troops were quartered, was attacked by the enemy early in the morning of the twenty-fourth of June. The Candians were repulsed, and retired for an interval to the rising grounds near the city, from which they annoyed the garrison with their fire. The palace did not, at that time, contain more than twenty Europeans fit for duty; and there were 120 men of the 19th regiment in the hospital, who were too sick to be moved.

The Candians, gathering courage from their knowledge of the reduced and sickly state of the garrison, rushed forward to the assault with overwhelming numbers. Major Davie, despairing of the success of further resistance, offered to capitulate; and for this purpose he repaired, in conjunction with Captain Nouradeen, to the quarters of the adigar, who was stationed at a considerable distance from the town. It was agreed that the town, with the ammunition and stores, should be delivered up to the Candians; and that the British should march out with their arms, on the road leading to Trincomalee. The adigar was to supply the sick and wounded in the hospital wih medicines and provisions, till they were capable of being removed to one of the British settlements.

On the return of Major Davie, after the adigar had signed the capitulation, the garrison left the capital in the evening of the same day. The troops consisted of fourteen European officers, twenty British soldiers, 250 Malays, 140 gun lascars, with Prince Mootto Sawmy and his attendants. They proceeded to the distance of one mile and a half on the road to Trincomalee, where they halted for the night, on the banks of the Mahavilla-ganga. The next morning they in vain endeavoured to throw a raft over the stream. In the mean time the Candians began to gather round them on both sides of the river. Four head-men brought intelligence to Major Davie, that the king was incensed with the adigar for having permitted the English to retire from his capital; but that, if they would deliver up Mootto Sawmy they should be furnished with boats to pass the river, and with the requisite supplies for their march to Trincomalee.

Major Davie at first refused to listen to these dishonourable proposals, which were in direct violation of the late treaty. Another party of Candian chiefs then came, and declared that the king intended no violence to Mootto Sawmy, but would treat him as a relation; but the major still persisted in his refusal to deliver up the prince; and more honourable would it have been for his memory, if he had not suffered that resolution to be shaken by the subsequent menaces of the perfidious enemy. Another message was sent, to declare, that if the British commander still refused to deliver up the prince, the king would attack him with his whole force, and prevent their crossing the river. After deliberation with his brother officers, the major informed the unfortunate prince that he could protect him no longer. "My God!" exclaimed the unhappy man, who knew too well the fate that awaited him, "is it possible that the arms of England can be so humbled as to fear the menaces of such cowards as the Candians." He was taken before the king, who, after reviling him for his pretended treason, ordered him to be immediately executed.

On the following day, (26th of June,) a great mass of the natives bore down upon the British troops, when a dessave, or head-man, informed Major Davie, that the king commanded all the troops to lay down their arms and return to the capital. Death was threatened in case of a refusal. After the repeated proofs which the British had had that both the king and his minister were equally destitute of humanity and good faith, how could the major and the other officers expect that even a compliance with such ignominious proposals would be the means of preserving their lives? And, when the compliance itself manifested a high degree of pusillanimity, ought they, for a moment, to have hesitated between death and dishonour? Even, if the enemy had been less cruel than they knew him to be, still no British officer ought to think life worth having, at the expense of infamy.

If we were to allow any apology for the conduct of Major Davie and his brother officers, we must seek it in the previous influence of a malignant climate, which had debilitated their bodies, and deprived their minds of their wonted energy. It must be confessed, that the circumstances in which they were placed, and the horrors by which they were surrounded, were sufficient to shake the strong, and to cloud the brow even of the brave; but still whatever allowance we may make for human infirmity, no soldier ought, in any situation, to abandon the maxim, that death is preferable to shame.

If Major Davie and his brother officers had resolutely determined not to accede to the first perfidious proposition of the Candians to deliver up Prince Mootto Sawmy in violation of a treaty, the wax of which was hardly cold, such a generous vigour of resolution, if it did not make any impression upon the enemy, would at least have excited a glowing enthusiasm of resistance amongst the small band of troops under their command. They might indeed have been ultimately overpowered by numbers, but they would have sold their lives dear; and, whilst their

death was not more painful, it would have been much more glorious than that which they finally experienced from a faithless foe.

To die in the field with his arms in his hand, is what a soldier ought always to contemplate as his probable destiny, that he may regard the event with cheerful acquiescence when the chance arrives. But, in the case of which I am speaking, Major Davie and his officers, in a moment of infatuated weakness, forgetting that it was their duty rather to face death, than to incur disgrace, submitted to the insolent and atrocious demands of the Candians, and consented to purchase a delusive security, by the sacrifice of all high and honourable sentiment.

The British troops, having given up their arms, and the Malays, according to orders, having grounded theirs, "They proceeded," according to Mr. Cordiner's account,* "all together towards Candy, accompanied by the Candian Malays, Caffrees, and a mob of armed natives. They had advanced only half way, when the Candian force was drawn up on each side of the road, and the British troops allowed to move to the centre of the lane; they were then ordered to halt, and the men of the Malay regiment were desired to march on; accordingly, they all proceeded, except four native Malay officers, and a few Malay servants, attending their masters, who refused to go on before the British officers. A Candian chief asked the Malays if they were willing to enter into the service of the King of Candy." Those who refused, were ordered to be bound and delivered to the Caffrees; those who consented, were conducted towards the town. The English officers were then separated from the private soldiers; and the whole, in divisions of two and two, were successively led out to be butchered, as the chief adigar had commanded. Whilst this horrid massacre was perpetrating, Captain Humphreys, laying hold of the arm of an assistant surgeon of the Malay regiment, rolled with him down the height upon which they

* Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 213.

were standing into the hollow beneath, into which the dead bodies of their slaughtered companions were precipitated. Here they remained till the fourth night, when the surgeon, going in quest of food, was recognized by the corporal of a Malay guard, whom he had formerly known when in the service of the Dutch. The corporal assured him of protection, and offered him refreshment, of which the surgeon said, that there was an English officer, who would be glad to participate. They were afterwards brought before the king, who ordered them to be separately confined.* Captain Humphreys, according to Mr. Cordiner, afterwards died in prison at Candy, but the surgeon fortunately effected his escape to Columbo. The only Englishmen, who were purposely selected to be saved from the general massacre, were Major Davie and Captain Rumley of the Malay regiment.†

* Asiatic Annual Register for 1805, p. 14.

† The major appears to have died of a dysentery at Hangaramketty, in the beginning of 1805; but Captain Humphreys and Captain Rumley, are mentioned at that time to have been in strict confinement. See the Asiatic Annual Register. When Mr. Cordiner wrote his Account of the Candian Campaign in 1803, he mentioned Major Davie, as still alive, in good health, and well treated, but closely confined.—Vol. II. p. 216. At the time that Candy was taken, the fort of Dambadenia, which was constructed only of fascines and earth, was assailed by a confused mass of several thousand Singalese; and, though it was defended only by fourteen convalescent English, and twenty-two invalid Malays, under Ensign John Grant, it held out for ten days against the open violence and perfidious machinations of the enemy, till it was finally relieved by succours from Columbo. This incident favours the conclusion, that if Major Davie had acted with the same vigour and heroism, he might probably have prevented the catastrophe which followed.

In September, 1804, Major Johnson, of the third Ceylon regiment, set out on his march from Baticalo to Candy, with a detachment of 300 troops, with 550 pioneers and coolies. Major Johnson reached the place of his destination on the 6th of October, and took possession of the capital, which had been previously deserted by the inhabitants. The major could obtain no intelligence of the other detachments, with which he expected to have formed a junction at this place; and he heard that the enemy were in great force in the neighbourhood, waiting till the effect of the climate had so reduced their numbers, or weakened their strength, as to render them an easy prey, as the troops under Major Davie had been the year before. Major Johnson found himself in a most critical situation. His troops were in some measure awed by the recollection of the recent massacre of their comrades in the previous year; and of this catastrophe, several of the apartments in the palace, in which they were quartered, contained mournful memorials in the hats, shoes, canteens, and accoutrements of the murdered soldiers, which were displayed on the walls; and many of them

still marked with the ill-fated owners names. In these circumstances, Major Johnson, without wasting much time in deliberation, very wisely determined to cross the river that runs near the capital, and to take post on the left bank, where he might ensure his retreat. As he was proceeding to execute this resolution, the major passed on the outside of the town, a number of skeletons of massacred officers of Major Davie's corps hanging on the trees; and, when he reached the banks of the river, where that unfortunate officer had agreed to surrender to the enemy, he found the ground still covered with the bones of his butchered troops. The Candians, who had assembled on the opposite bank to oppose Major Johnson's movements, pointed to those bones, as a warning of the fate which they might expect. But Major Johnson, more determined, and more fortunate than his predecessor, after encountering and overcoming many difficulties, at last succeeded in getting his troops across the river. He now lost no time in prosecuting his retreat to Trincomalee, a distance of 142 miles. The Candians, in many parts of the rout, endeavoured to obstruct their march, by blocking up the way with large trees, which they felled for that purpose, or by raising breast-works to oppose their progress. They were, in other respects, greatly harassed by the enemy on their march, and suffered considerable loss. For some days, they were engaged in one continued skirmish, whilst they were, at the same time, exposed alternately to a scorching sun or a pelting rain. At length, however, the Candians slackened their pursuit, till the major and the residue of his detachment reached Trincomalee in a state of great lassitude and exhaustion, from the various privations which they had experienced, and the great fatigue which they had undergone, without mentioning the insalubrity of the climate, and the different extremes of heat, cold, and wet, to which they had been exposed. Major Johnson published a perspicuous and respectable narrative of his expedition.†

† London, Baldwin, 1810, 8vo.

CHAP. XXII.

Massacre of the Sick in the Hospital at Candy. Escape of George Barnsley. Noble Instances of Fidelity to the British Interest in two Native Officers of Malays. The King of Candy marches against Columbo; his Discomfiture. Desultory Hostilities and Ravage which ensued. Further Intrigues of Pelemé Talavé. The King of Candy seized with the Small Pox.

BEFORE the massacre, which I have just mentioned, was perpetrated, all the sick, to the number of 120 men, who had been left in the hospital at Candy on the faith of the capitulation, were murdered in cold blood. George Barnsley, a corporal of the 19th regiment, who had been left for dead amongst the slain, recovered sufficiently to make his escape. He crept into a thicket, and swam across the river during the night, when he arrived at Fort Macdowall, where he was the first to tell the dreadful tale.

Captain Nouradeen and his brother, who were native officers of the Malay regiment, were repeatedly solicited by the king to forsake the English, and to enter into the Candian service; but they refused to accept of life on such terms, and nobly preferred death to the violation of their oaths. Upon their last refusal, the king "turned his face from them in a rage," and gave orders for their immediate execution. The rites of sepulture were denied to their bodies, which were dragged into the woods, and left to be devoured by wild beasts.

On the evening of the wanton massacre of Major Davie's corps, the

adigar, by whose nefarious artifices and atrocious treachery the whole had been contrived, ordered guns to be fired, and rejoicings to be made to celebrate the victory which he had obtained.

The enemy were greatly elated with the recent discomfiture of the English; and, in the pride of his heart, the King of Candy thinking that nothing could arrest the victorious progress of his arms, began to calculate upon their total expulsion from the island. He accordingly made preparations to attack them at all points, and conducted in person an expedition against Columbo, of which he appears to have entertained no doubts of the success. He had advanced within about twenty miles of the seat of the English government; but his progress was arrested by the determined resistance which he experienced* in an attack on a small fort called Hangwell, from which he was driven with great loss. His Candian majesty, however, had reckoned so little on this disappointment, that in front of a bungaloe, or temporary residence, which had been constructed for his reception in the neighbourhood, he had ordered the requisite instruments to be prepared for impaling the English prisoners. The enemy were pursued in their retreat; and his Candian majesty was so incensed at the ill success of his troops, though it was, in some measure, caused by his own cowardice, as he was the first who took to flight, that he ordered the heads of some of the principal officers in his army to be struck off, in order to expiate his rage.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to detail any further the desultory warfare of ravage and spoliation which followed the massacre at Candy. It was conducted on both sides with much barbarity and oppression. Numerous villages were burnt, and large tracts of country reduced to desolation; and, though the British were in some degree

* Cordiner, II. p. 233. This fort of Hangwell had been taken by the Candians in a prior expedition, and afterwards retaken by the troops under Lieutenant Mercer.

justified by the barbarities which they had experienced, yet who can justify retaliation when it is practised upon the innocent?

When we read that a detachment of the British troops "was employed in destroying all the houses, stores, and gardens in the rich province of Saffragam,"* and that many other parts of the country were exposed to similar horrors, we turn from the recital with disgust, and our hearts will not suffer us to admit, that the plea of vengeance could sanction such enormities.

In March, 1804, preparations were made by the Candians for a general invasion of the British possessions on the coast; but the meditated attack was anticipated by the vigilance of their adversaries. Pacific overtures were afterwards made, but without any beneficial result. Military operations were again commenced in the following September, when the chief adigar, who was stationed at this time with a considerable force in the province of Saffragam, made an attempt to renew the tissue of his treachery. But his present propositions were rejected with the scorn which his former ought to have experienced.†

In February, 1805, the British territory was again invaded by the

* Cordiner, II. p. 256. In the province of Saffragam above-mentioned there is a Hindoo pagoda, which is probably of greater extent and magnificence than any other which is left standing in Ceylon. The apartments of this pagoda, says Mr. Cordiner, "afforded excellent shelter for the troops, who found in several chests a greater quantity of silver and copper coins than they were capable of carrying away. The Malays, probably from motives of superstition, refused to receive any share of them; and almost all the indigent coolies (a sort of porters) disdained the sacrilege of either entering the pagoda or touching the coin." Every contemplative mind must, in the above instance, behold with pleasure the devotional feeling, however imbued with superstition, elevating a despised and ignorant class of our fellow creatures above the baser passions of rapacity and avarice.

† The adigar is stated, at this time, to have been on terms of very doubtful amity with the king.

Candians, who were repulsed, on all sides, with great loss. Soon afterwards the King of Candy was seized with the small-pox, which furnished the first adigar with a favourable opportunity for repairing to the capital and recovering his former influence in the government. After this, hostilities were suspended for an interval by a sort of tacit consent, which originated in the weakness of the enemy, but which was in unison with the wishes of the British government.

CHAP. XXIII.

In March, 1814, the chief Adigar, Eheilapola, takes up Arms against the Authority of the King; his Overtures to the English; the King generally abhorred; his unparalleled Barbarity against the Wife and Children of the insurgent Adigar, who takes Refuge at Columbo; his interesting Interview with General Brownrigg; his Sensations on a first View of the Ocean.

IN the month of March, 1814, the King of Candy summoned the first adigar, whose name was Eheilapola,* to appear before him, in order to answer for some real or imaginary offence. Eheilapola, who well knew how little he had to expect from the justice or the mercy of his sovereign, determined not to comply with the mandate he had received. He accordingly prepared for resistance; and was generally supported by the people of the province of Saffragam, of which he was governor, or dessave. This province he offered to surrender to the British government, whose succour he earnestly implored in the contest in which he was about to be engaged. But the Governor of Ceylon did not think it prudent to interpose in favour of the attempt of Eheilapola, till he had seen whether the insurrection, of which it was the commencement, was likely to become universal. The ruling sovereign of Candy had become generally odious by the cruelties and oppression which he had long exercised upon his subjects; and the abhorrence of his tyranny was diffused through his dominions.

* The writer of this is not at present aware that any thing certain is known respecting the fall of that perfidious miscreant, Pelemé Talavé, whom Eheilapola succeeded; but he has probably paid the forfeit of his crimes, and been sentenced to death by the despot whom he raised to the throne, and afterwards treacherously conspired to depose.

The tyrant no sooner received intelligence of the revolt of Eheilapola, than he determined upon an act of the most inhuman revenge. The wife and children of the chief had been left at Candy, according to the practice of the court, as hostages for his fidelity and allegiance. The children were five in number. The eldest was eighteen years of age, the youngest an infant at the breast. These innocent victims to the brutal rage of the royal monster were conducted to the market-place, where the head of the infant being first cut off, the distracted mother was actually compelled to pound it in a mortar. The other children were afterwards butchered in succession; and the mother herself was finally slaughtered, to consummate the tragedy.

These accumulated horrors seem, for a time, to have paralyzed both the body and the mind of the unhappy father. He could not exert his wonted energy. His partizans, who needed the animating force of his example, made but a feeble resistance, and were speedily overpowered by the troops of the sovereign. The adigar fled for refuge to Columbo; but it was some time before General Brownrigg appeared to espouse his cause, by admitting him to an interview. He was, however, finally favoured with a personal audience of his excellency at his country house.

The unparalleled misfortunes of Eheilapola rendered him in a peculiar manner an object of sympathy to every feeling heart. The reception which he experienced on the part of the governor, was such as was equally honourable to both parties. It was the respect and sensibility of a generous mind to a singular instance of the mutability of fortune, and of the extent of human suffering. As soon as Eheilapola was introduced to the British governor, the venerable chieftain, who had never been taught to subject his feelings to forms of ceremonial etiquette, burst into tears. The governor endeavoured to tranquillize his agonized bosom, by solemn assurances of favour and support. The rude and unrefined chief, who had passed his life upon the Candian mountains, expressed without reserve the gratitude which he felt. As the cruelty of

his sovereign had stripped him of every kindred tie, he requested permission to call the governor father, and to consider him as the dearest relative that misfortune had not swept away.

This was the first time that Eheilapola had ever beheld the sea, except in a faint glance from a distant mountain; and the grand view of the expanded ocean which he enjoyed from the governor's house, that was situated on a rock overhanging the shore, affected him with feelings of wonder and delight. At the same time the furniture of the house, which differed so much from any thing he had seen before, excited his attention, and interested his curiosity.

CHAP. XXIV.

War, in which Candy was transferred to the Sovereignty of Great Britain. Preparations for attacking the English Settlements. Proclamation of the English Governor. British Troops on their March towards Candy. Insensibility of the King to his perilous Situation; deserted by his Subjects; his Cruelty to two Messengers of bad News. The Prime Minister, Molligodde, joins the British; his Example followed by other Chiefs. Interview between Molligodde and Eheilapola. Flight of the King from Candy. Candy occupied by the British. An English Captive recognized; his extraordinary History.

WE come now to the last* war, in which the British were engaged with the King of Candy, which terminated in his expulsion from the throne, and in the voluntary submission of the people to the British government. That government is, at present, happily extended over the whole island; and, considering it as better calculated to promote the real interests of the people, and to accelerate their moral and intellectual improvement than any native domination, I cannot refrain from expressing a wish, which is the wish of my heart, that the sovereignty of Great Britain, over this fair region of the globe, may last for ever; as far as this "for ever" can be applied to the instability of all human power, and the mutability of all human establishments.

The court of Candy, elated by its temporary triumph over the fugitive Eheilapola, began to make strenuous preparations for attacking the English settlements. At the same time it exhibited a shocking instance of the spirit by which it was actuated, by a most barbarous outrage

* In the account of this war, I have principally followed "A Narrative of Events," written by a gentleman on the spot. Egerton. 1815.

upon ten unoffending inhabitants of the British possessions, who were in the habit of trading within the Candian limits. These unfortunate individuals, without the smallest imputation of crime, or the shadow of any legal form, were captured and mutilated. Seven of them were destroyed by the severity of their sufferings; and the three, who did survive, arrived at Columbo, with their arms, noses, and ears, cut off—a spectacle too horrid to describe.

This barbarous outrage necessarily led to actual hostilities. Before the commencement of the war, the governor in council issued a proclamation, in which it was declared that the British arms were not directed against the Candian nation, but " only against that tyrannical power which had provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which had cut off the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, deluged the land with the blood of his subjects, and, by the violation of every religious and moral law, become an object of abhorrence to mankind."

Whilst the British troops were marching from all points upon his capital, the Candian monarch, infatuated with an idea of his invincibility, remained for some time in a state of torpid inactivity, as if unconscious of the general disaffection of his subjects, and of the rapid and almost unresisted approach of the enemy. But, at length, he began to be conscious that those, on whose support he most relied, were deserting him; and that, in his falling fortunes, he was left, according to the common lot of tyrants, without a friend. But, as his situation became more desperate, his disposition became more cruel. In the last moments of his power he could not suppress the emotions of vindictive fury, which he had never previously endeavoured to control. Of two messengers, who brought disastrous intelligence, he ordered one to have his head cut off, and the other to be impaled alive.

On the morning of the eighth of February, Molligodde, the prime minister of the Candian monarch, revolted from his master, and came into

the British camp. He brought with him several elephants, the insignia of the Four Corles, a banner, with the device of the sun and moon, to denote perpetual duration; and the rolls, or records, of his dessaveny. All the chiefs of the province, who had not previouly joined the British standard, followed his example.

After Molligodde had been received, he proposed to pay a visit to Eheilapola. When the two chiefs met, Molligodde exclaimed, that he was a ruined man. "What then am I?" said Eheilapola. These words suggested the most painful recollections; and both the chiefs burst into tears.

The British forces arrived on the fourteenth at the Candian capital, from which the king, awakened too late from his delusive dream of fancied security, had fled.

The British had hardly obtained possession of the city, when a man presented himself at head-quarters, in a Candian dress, but having the features of an European. His pale and haggard looks, and his long and matted beard, exhibited a melancholy appearance. This man, whose name was Thomas Thoen, said that he had marched with the British army to Candy in 1803, and that he was among the 150 sick who had been left in the hospital when the capital was surrendered to the enemy. When his fellow-sufferers were butchered, the barbarians, having torn off the blisters, which had been previously applied to his stomach in the hospital, felled him to the ground with the butt end of a musket, and left him for dead in the general heap. He recovered, however, enough to crawl to a neighbouring drain, when, on being discovered the next morning, he was hung up to a tree and left to perish. The rope, happily, broke; when he was again discovered, and again hung up in the same way. But, again the rope broke, when he contrived to crawl to a hut at a little distance, where he supported himself for ten days with nothing but the grass that grew near the door, and the drops of rain that fell from the roof. At the expiration of this interval, he was acci-

dentally discovered by an old Candian, who, after looking at him, suddenly disappeared, but soon after came again with a plate of rice, which he put down and went away.

The king, who had never felt for human woe, was struck with the story which he received of Thoen's numerous and extraordinary escapes. Superstition, in the place of sympathy, made its way into the monarch's mind. He thought that Thoen would not have been so often preserved, if he had not been a peculiar favourite of Heaven ; and he accordingly ordered him to be taken care of by one of the chiefs, and to receive every accommodation which he required.

The king allowed him a house in the town of Candy, in which he remained till the arrival of the British. He experienced no further ill treatment from the jealous tyrant; but the horrid barbarities which he beheld, and which the slightest offence was sufficient to excite, kept him in a state of constant inquietude and alarm. A woman, who had been detected in merely conveying a message from him to Major Davie, was instantly put to death.

The only source of solace, in which this unfortunate man had access in the dreary hours of his long captivity, was in the perusal of a detached portion of an English Bible, which contained some chapters of Jeremiah. The devotional sentiment in these chapters tended to sooth his melancholy, and to inspire a pleasurable confidence in the providential government of Jehovah.*

* A very able critic has truly remarked, that—" There is no incident in Robinson Crusoe told in language more natural and affecting, than Knox's discovery of a Bible in the Candian dominions. His previous despondency from the death of his father, his only friend and companion, whose grave he had just dug with his own hands, being now, as he says, ' left desolate, sick, and in captivity,' his agitation, joy, and terror, on meeting with a book he had for such a length of time not seen, nor hoped to see—his anxiety lest he should fail to procure it, and the comfort it afforded him in his affliction—are told in such a strain of true piety, and genuine simplicity, as cannot fail to interest and affect every reader of sensibility."

CHAP. XXV.

Some of the King's Women taken; his Retreat discovered; his abject Pusillanimity in his fallen Fortunes; his Life spared; Indignities heaped upon him by his Subjects. He is sent to Columbo; the Apartments prepared for his Reception; Circumstances of his Behaviour; his Person and Character; his Indifference to the Cruelties of his Reign. Effect of Despotism on the Heart. Shrewd Remark of the King's on a striking Difference between Despotism and limited Power. Frantic Barbarity of the King exemplified in a domestic Trait; his predominant Feeling in Confinement; Rancour against his Subjects.

ON the same day on which the Candian capital was taken, Major Kelly captured many of the females of the king's family, with a considerable treasure. The king himself was known to be in the neighbourhood, and it was hoped that he could not long elude the pursuit of his enemies. His retreat was soon discovered by some of Eheilapola's adherents, who surrounded the house, in which he had hid himself with two of his wives. The door was strongly barricaded, but they battered down the wall of the apartment, in which the tyrant was concealed, when he was exposed by the glare of torch light to the derision of his enemies.

The tyrant now shewed himself as obsequious and abject in misfortune, as he had been arbitrary and insolent in the period of his power. He implored that his life might be spared, though he himself had long sported with the lives of his subjects; and, as if Providence intended forcibly to admonish him, that cruelty is folly, he was constrained to solicit the boon of humanity for himself and his wives, from

the followers of Eheilapola, whose wife and children he had destroyed, with circumstances of aggravated horror and ferocity. Though the life of the tyrant was spared by the magnanimous forbearance of his enemies, it was impossible to save him from the indignities of some of his infuriated people. They bound him hand and foot, reviled him, spit on him, and dragged him to the next village, with every species of insult and indignity.

After this, the deposed monarch was sent under an escort to Columbo, where a house had been prepared for his reception. In the largest of the rooms which were designed for his use, was an Ottoman or musnud, covered with scarlet cloth. As soon as the monarch entered the apartment, he is said immediately to have sprung forward, and placed himself upon this Ottoman, cross legged like a tailor, in which position he surveyed with great apparent satisfaction, the place allotted for his abode. " As I am no longer permitted to be a king," said he, " I am thankful for the kindness and attention which has been shewn me."

The description, which the author of " A Narrative of Events" gives of the king's person, physiognomy, and apparent intellectual character, is not quite in unison with that, which is furnished in the work of Mr. Cordiner. " Wikreme Rajah Sinha," says the author first mentioned, " is in his person considerably above the middle size, of a corpulent, yet muscular appearance, and with a physiognomy which is at all times handsome, and frequently not unpleasing. His claim to talent has been disputed by many, who have had an opportunity of conversing with him, but he is certainly not deficient in shrewdness or comprehension." He is said to unite good humour with the most insensate cruelty. He answered the questions that were put to him with a sort of unconstrained affability, whilst he related the barbarities of his reign with the most singular unconcern. " He passes with great rapidity from one story of court intrigue to another ; but, it is to be observed, that the invaria-

ble issue of the whole of these anecdotes is the cutting off the offender's head, flogging him to death, impaling him alive, or pounding him in a mortar, as the caprice of the moment might have dictated; and all his surprise seems to be that the English should feel any great indignation at what he had always considered a mere matter of course and pastime."— Here we clearly see how uncontrolled despotism tends to convert the heart of flesh into a heart of stone; and how the human bosom, in which there is a natural repugnance to cruelty and oppression, soon becomes so altered by the exercise, or so hardened by the spectacle, as to regard, not only with indifference but with delight, the most torturing pangs and the most revolting sufferings.

The dethroned King of Candy made one remark on the difference between his own arbitrary sway, and a more restrained exercise of power, which does credit to his sagacity, and deserves attentive consideration. In a conversation with Major Hook, he said, " The English governors have one advantage over us kings of Candy;—they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided."

In the above remark, the late Candian monarch suggested a most unanswerable argument against unlimited power in any individual, unless he were exempted, by a sort of miracle, from the common imperfections of humanity. One of the most admirable contrivances of human wisdom is that part of the British constitution, which, whilst it secures the inviolability of the monarch, makes every one of his servants, whether high or low, responsible for his acts.

The following instance is well fitted to illustrate the nature of a character, where the will of the individual has never known restraint, nor experienced opposition. The captive king had requested that four of the usual female attendants might be permitted to wait upon his queens.

This was willingly conceded; and the same night one of these women was brought to bed in the house. The king no sooner heard of this, than he demanded that the woman should be instantly removed. Colonel Kerr very humanely refused to comply, and remonstrated on the cruelty of the proceeding, with a poor creature in her unfortunate situation. His majesty, however, who had not been used to have any of his desires contravened, however extravagant or barbarous they might be, flew about his apartment in the most frantic rage, vowing that "he would neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he was satisfied." Colonel Kerr, becoming apprehensive lest the poor woman should be murdered by the tyrant, gave orders for her removal, though at the hazard of her life.

The author of "A Narrative of Events, &c." says that "the predominating feeling of the king's mind was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects." Thus we find, that when Major Willerman had an audience of his majesty soon after his capture, "he pointed in proud indignation to the marks of a rope on his arm, and asked if that was treatment fit for a king." The unmitigated despotism he had so long exercised, the passive obedience he had so long experienced, made the idea of the recent resistance insupportable to his mind; and this sensation was still further aggravated by the consciousness that his vindictive feelings could no longer be appeased by their usual gratification.

The bitter rancour of the king against the conduct of his subjects, is said to have been favourable to the interests of the British, as it induced him to disclose the places of his hidden treasure, which was of great amount. He chose that it should become the property of his conquerors, rather than of those who had rebelled against his tyranny.

CHAP. XXVI.

A Convention of the British Authorities and Candian Chiefs. The reigning Sovereign formally deposed for Misgovernment; Substance of the Treaty. The Transfer of the Sovereignty beneficial to the Singalese. Radical Defects in the Policy of the Portuguese and Dutch; more enlightened Policy of Great Brituin. Dutch Administration of Justice, its Vices and Defects. Dutch Restrictions upon the Catholics removed by a more liberal Policy; Excellence of Mr. North's Administration.

AFTER the capture of the king, a grand convention was held of the British authorities and the Candian chiefs in the great hall of the palace in the capital. At this meeting a treaty was proposed and ratified by the assembly, by which the Malabar dynasty was solemnly deposed,* and

* In the treaty between "His Excellency Lieutenant-General Robert Brownrigg, governor and commander-in-chief in and over the British settlements and territories in the Island of Ceylon, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty George the Third, King, and his Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, Regent, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part; and the adigars, dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Candian provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, and in presence of the mohottales, coraals, vidaans, and other subordinate headmen from the several provinces, and of the people then and there assembled," the second article declared, "That the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title, or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the office of king; his family and relations, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne; and all claim and title to the dominion of the Candian provinces is abolished and extinguished." This furnishes a singular instance of a regular treaty between one sovereign and the people of another to deprive a king of his throne, and for ever to exterminate his dynasty, on account of the atrocities of his government. This treaty is a virtual acknowledgment, on the part of the British government, that an "habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign," constitutes a forfeiture of the sovereignty.

the dominions of the whole Island of Ceylon vested in the sovereign of Great Britain. Every species of torture was abolished. No sentence of death was to be carried into execution without the written warrant of the British governor. The ancient religion of the people was declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship, are to be maintained and protected; whilst the administration of justice was to be exercised according to the usual forms and by the ordinary authorities.

There can be no doubt but that this transfer of the sovereignty of Ceylon to the British crown will be much more favourable to the general interest of the native inhabitants than the ancient government. There will be less fluctuation and violence in the interior administration; and the industry of the people will experience a degree of excitement from the secure possession of its products, which it never could have felt under that arbitrary sway, where the life and property of every individual in the kingdom was the sport of the most capricious tyranny, which was not only never checked by any legal restraint, but which was insensible to every sentiment of justice and humanity.

The Singalese were certainly oppressed rather than benefited by the conquests of the Portuguese and of the Dutch. The intolerant bigotry of the one, and the equally inhuman avarice of the other, were utterly at variance with any system of improvement which was to be founded on liberal ideas, and to exhibit enlarged views. The Portuguese regarded the extended domination of the Catholic faith of more importance than the morals, health, or subsistence, of the inhabitants. When the policy of a nation is under the direction of bigotry, no considerations of justice or humanity will be suffered to obstruct the execution of its designs. All the calculations of prudence will be despised, and the suggestions of wisdom will pass for the impulses of folly or impiety. One of the kings of Portugal* proposed to lead an army to

* Sebastian.

India, which was to be accompanied with a host of priests, who, by the terrors of the sword, were to force all the inhabitants to embrace the Catholic faith. Though this fanatical scheme was finally abandoned, yet the propagation of the Christian, or rather the Popish, faith, became the primary principle of the Portuguese policy in the East. Their settlements were filled with ecclesiastics; and, whilst commerce languished, virtue decayed.

The Dutch shewed less contempt than the Portuguese for the religious prejudices of the natives; but, what they wanted in the intolerance of fanaticism, they made up in the excess of mercantile cupidity; and both the one and the other tended to alienate the affections, and to impair the prosperity, of the people who were subject to their sway. The prosperity of Ceylon was never regarded by the Dutch any farther than as it was connected with a large supply of cinnamon.

Since the island has been in the possession of the British, a more liberal and enlightened policy has been adopted than was pursued by either of their European predecessors in their settlements on the coast, or within the circle of their influence. The Dutch* left the Singalese no other choice than to be poor and idle, or to work for nothing; but it must be allowed that, wherever the English form a settlement, they encourage industry by the security which they afford to its acquisitions.

The administration of justice, during the domination of the Dutch, was necessarily vitiated and corrupt, as it was usually entrusted to persons who were little qualified for the office by their education, their circumstances, or their character. Neither intellectual nor moral qualities were regarded in the selection of men for an office which was to determine the important questions of property, liberty, and life. The following is adduced as an instance, at least, of the carelessness of the Dutch criminal

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. II. p. 305.

administration. A man, who was condemned to the works, presented a petition to the Honourable Mr. North, when governor, in which he stated that he had been three years and a half in that situation for a very slight offence. When the register of the judicial proceedings was examined, it was discovered, that the unfortunate culprit had been condemned to this punishment only for one year; but that the clerk, either by accident or design, had enlarged the period to ten.*

Under the government of the Dutch, the Catholic part of the population, whether of European extraction, or composed of converted natives, was subject to various restraints and disabilities. They were not permitted to have a separate burial-ground, and were compelled to pay extravagant fees for permission to inter their dead in the Protestant cemetery.† A tax was imposed on the marriages of Catholics, which almost amounted to a prohibition. Though persons professing the Catholic faith were very numerous in the European settlements in the island, they were excluded from all civil offices. These restrictions upon the Catholics, which had been imposed by the Dutch, had never been enforced since the island came into the possession of the English, and they were formally repealed in 1806. A regulation was then made, which was to take effect from the commencement of his majesty's birthday, the 4th of June, by which the Catholics were placed on a level in every respect with their Protestant fellow-subjects. They were allowed the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion in every part of the British settlements on the Island of Ceylon. They were admitted to all civil privileges and capacities. All marriages which had taken place within the above-mentioned settlements since the 26th of August, 1795, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church, were to be deemed valid in law, although the forms appointed by the late Dutch government had not been observed.‡

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. I. p. 305. † Lord Valentia, Vol. I. p. 309.
‡ Asiatic Annual Register for 1807.

The administration of Mr. North was, in the highest degree, mild, disinterested, and beneficent, and forms an admirable contrast with the unfeeling rigour and sordid avarice of most of the governors whilst the island was under the dominion of the Dutch. The native inhabitants, as well as the European settlers, seem to have been duly impressed with a conviction of his unsullied truth, justice, and humanity. The government of Mr. North was, indeed, truly paternal, and very characteristic of those amiable qualities which seem inherent in his family.

CHAP. XXVII.

Practice of Vaccination introduced into Ceylon.

AMONGST the benefits which have accrued to the Singalese from the establishment of the British dominion in the island, the introduction of the vaccine antidote to the small-pox is not one of the least conspicuous. Before the practice of vaccination, the constantly-recurring ravages of the small-pox were truly tremendous, and occasionally depopulated the country like a plague. From a letter of Mr. Christie,* the medical superintendant-general, in the Ceylon Government Gazette for February, 1809, it appears that the number of persons vaccinated throughout the different districts of Ceylon, during the year 1808, amounted to 26,207; which, added to 76,823, the number previously vaccinated, made a total of 103,030 persons, who had passed through the vaccine disease since its introduction into the island in 1802. The small-pox did not shew itself in any part of the British dominions in Ceylon during 1808, except in the district of Galle, when it was accidentally communicated by the crew of a Maldivian boat to two or three of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood; but this repression of its usual ravages must be ascribed to the influence of vaccination. This salutary practice has been, at present, so generally diffused throughout the island, that the recurrence of the small-pox need no longer be an object of alarm.

* Mr. Christie published "An Account of Ravages committed in Ceylon by the Small-Pox, previously to the Introduction of Vaccination," &c. in 1811.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Attention of the Dutch to the establishment of Schools; their judicious Regulations respecting. These Institutions restored and improved by Mr. North. His Plans obstructed by the injudicious Parsimony of Government.

HOWEVER sordid and contemptible may have been the policy of the Dutch in some respects, it must be recorded to their honour, that they established schools for the instruction of the natives in the rudiments of useful knowledge, and in the salutary principles of Christianity. These schools appear to have been placed under very judicious regulations. One school was erected in every parish throughout the provinces where the Dutch sovereignty was established. Each school had from two to four teachers, in proportion to the number to be taught. Every ten scholars were, at the same time, under the care of a superintendant, who examined the proficiency of the scholars, and the conduct of the teachers. There was likewise an annual visitation by nine of the Dutch clergymen,* each of whom had the schools in a particular diocese com-

* Mr. Cordiner has given a detailed account of the above annual visitation of the Singalese parochial schools. The following is part of his description:—"A large congregation attended in their best apparel. The children were ranged in the front lines. The minister began the business of the day by worshipping God, and preaching to the people. Then took place the examination of the school. The higher classes answered questions relative to the catechism of D'Outreir, and the twelve articles of the Creed. The lower classes repeated the catechism and prayers. The elder boys read a portion of the printed Singalese Bible, and wrote with a stylus on slips of the Palmyra leaf. The younger wrote with their fingers in sand spread on a bench, and, as they formed the different characters, they sung their names and particular marks by which they are distinguished."

mitted to his charge. The school-houses were at the same time employed for other useful purposes. They formed a place in which registers were kept of baptisms and marriages, and where divine service was performed. These schools were very numerous and flourishing under the Dutch; but, when the English obtained possession of the island, in 1796, the salaries of the masters were left unpaid for about three years, and the schools consequently fell into decay. At the termination of this period the Hon. Mr. North, who became governor of the island towards the end of the year 1798, spared no pains to re-establish these beneficent institutions. Under his auspices the parochial schools were enlarged in number, improved in management, and augmented in usefulness. He, at the same time, restored and new modelled an academy at Columbo, which Mr. Cordiner represents as in a very flourishing condition. The students, who are "Singalese, Malabar, and European, are all taught English, as well as other languages, by experienced masters. The Singalese scholars are sons of the Modelaars, and first class of the people in the country. They are possessed of industry and docility, and discover a strong ambition to acquire learning. Many of them converse fluently in English, and write, in a good style, very accurate translations from the Singalese."*

After contemplating the salutary arrangements which the enlightened mind of Mr. North had combined and executed for the intellectual culture and moral improvement of the Singalese, it is afflicting to behold the extent of their operations circumscribed, and the sum of their usefulness diminished by the inconsiderate parsimony of the governors at home. Parsimony is a great virtue in any government; but I am no advocate for that kind of parsimony which tends to stunt the intellectual growth, or to obstruct the moral improvement of mankind. In the year 1803, the annual expense of all the schools in the island was

* Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 161.

ordered to be limited to the sum of £1500. Now, as the whole expense of the beneficent establishments which Mr. North had restored, or new modelled, did not exceed £4,600 a year, and as the schoolmasters acted, at the same time, as notaries in their several districts, the saving was beneath the notice of a great people, when it could not be made without a sacrifice of the most general usefulness, and the most important interests.

CHAP. XXIX.

Missionaries sent to Ceylon. Number of Christians of the Protestant and Romish Communions. Circumstances tending to facilitate the Propagation of Christianity in Ceylon.

IN 1805, some missionaries were sent from England, for the purpose of instructing the Singalese in the principles of Christianity. Mr. Cordiner seems to think that the propagation of this beneficent doctrine in Ceylon would experience much fewer obstacles than in Hindoostan. In Ceylon the rites of the ancient religion are said to be almost totally forgotten ; and the inhabitants, more ignorant than bigoted, and more simple than prejudiced, would readily admit any religious impressions which a devout teacher might make upon their minds.

In the year 1801, the number of native inhabitants, who professed the Protestant profession of the Christian faith, was calculated to exceed 342,000, whilst those of the Romish communion were reckoned to be still more numerous. Christianity is professed by natives of Columbo of the highest rank ; and indeed it is not more devoutly to be wished, than reasonably to be expected, that, in a few years, the religion of Brahma and of Boodh will vanish entirely before the luminous and illuminating truths of the Christian system, if the education of the native Singalese shall be prosecuted with zeal, and the principles of Christianity taught by the reason, and enforced by the example of devout, honest, and well-informed missionaries.

Lord Valentia * remarks, that the attachment of the Singalese to their casts "is much more an affair of vanity than religion." But, perhaps this is not less the case in Hindoostan than in Ceylon. An attachment to the institution of casts, of which the exterior symbols consist in particular personal embellishments, must in all cases have a more intimate connexion with the gratifications of vanity, than with devotional sentiment, or pious veneration.† If the propagation of Christianity in the East should, though only in a limited degree, abolish the institution of casts, it would be of incalculable benefit. For no institution was ever devised, which is so adverse to political liberty, to social happiness, to the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind.

* Vol. I. p. 308.

† Lord Valentia, however, who intimates that the attachment to cast amongst the natives of Ceylon, opposes no insuperable impediment to the propagation of the Christian faith, mentions some instances, in which that attachment seems to have been traced upon the habits and affections in characters which would not be readily effaced. "The higher casts," says Lord Valentia, "are extremely jealous of their privileges, and severely punish those of the lower casts, who presume to usurp them. A man, who ventured to cover his house with tiles, without being entitled to that distinction, had it pulled down to the ground, by order of his superior; and a poor tailor, whose love of finery led him to be married in a scarlet jacket, was nearly killed at the church door." The same noble author records a very ridiculous, but very angry feud between the casts of washermen and barbers, which became so inveterate, that the first were compelled to go unshaved, and the last to wear their foul linen, till Mr. North interposed to appease their deadly animosity.

CHAP. XXX.

Worship of Boodh; fabulous Account of his Nativity. His early Achievements; his Marriage. He retires into a Wood; a magnificent Seat dropped from Heaven. Hostility of the Devils to his Worship; their desperate Attack upon Boodh; their total Discomfiture. Boodh sheltered in a violent Storm by the flat Head of a huge Serpent. The Devils tempt Boodh in the Form of Women. He enters a Tower of Rubies; sees a Host of Angels; teaches his Doctrine at Sewetnure; retires to another Town, where he dies in a Fruit Garden. His Disciples comforted for his Loss. Inconsistency in the Accounts of Boodh. Saints or Deities subordinate to Boodh; Modes of Worship.

THE present worship * of the Singalese owes its origin to Boodh, who appeared in the island 623 years before the birth of Christ. The priests of the country assert that Boodh, whose footstep is still to be seen on the top of Adam's Peak, came to this island from the east, and left his laws for their instruction on tables of stone. His height was twelve feet, and each foot equal to two of ordinary mortals. They say that

* Valentyn has remarked, that the Singalese, in one part of the island, agree in the names of their deities and in their religious rites, with those of the people on the coast of Malabar; and, in another, with those of the Siamese. The places, in which they were formerly wont to celebrate their religious worship, were denominated pagodas. The antient kings of Ceylon had erected in the neighbourhood of Trincomalée a pagoda, which was celebrated through India for its great extent and magnificence, but which was demolished by the Portuguese in 1622, when the stones were used in the construction of a fort.

Valentyn mentions, that there was a very antient prophecy respecting this pagoda, current among the Singalese. This prophecy, which was originally discovered on an old stone, had been decyphered by some of the sages of Ceylon, and was found to signify that Manica Raja had erected this pagoda to the honour of the god Videmal, in the year 1300 before the Nativity, but that a certain people, denominated Franks, should come and destroy the same, and that another king should afterwards restore the sacred edifice to its original magnificence.

this Boodh, before he came into the world, had his abode in the third heaven, where he ruled over millions of angels. He found that men were living in a sort of moral anarchy, without laws or institutions; and were plunged in an abyss of ignorance and misery. He accordingly ordered it so, that he should come into the world from the maternal bosom * of the Queen or Empress Mahamajedewi, and he first opened his eyes upon the light of this sublunary sphere, in a pleasure garden of the King or Emperor Zuddodene Raja. On his first appearance he seemed to be seven years of age. He made seven steps to the east, seven to the west, seven to the south, and seven to the north, where, lifting up his right hand, in a posture of supplication, and invoking God, he sunk into a cradle, and assumed the form of a new-born child. The king indulged in a transport of joy at the birth of this marvellous child, had him brought to his court, and called him by the name of Ziddatare Cumanca, or the prince who hopes to do whatever he desires.

He performed many wonderful feats before his sixteenth year, when the Emperor of Candy resolved to marry him to the Princess Jasodera, who had been born on the same day with Boodh. This princess was the daughter of the King Andusaek Raja, and the Queen Ammitanam Bisso, whose family was as ancient as that of the emperor and empress. After the celebration of his marriage, Boodh and his wife lived together for thirteen years, and had one son, to whom they gave the name of Rahule Cumane. Boodh, finding that, if he took proper care of this child, he should not have sufficient time to devote to the instruction of mankind, determined to abandon his family and to retire into a wood, where he spent six years in a state of great indigence and distress. Whilst he was in this lonely situation, a magnificent stool, covered with a blaze of diamonds, fell from heaven under a white tree, named Ze-

* "Hy quam," says the Dutchman, "uit het midden van haare borsten." His conception is said to have taken place on the full moon in the month of July, 622 years before the birth of Christ, and he was born on the full moon in the May of the following year.

remabod. The prophet sat down upon this sumptuous seat, and then went again out of the wood. On this occasion he assumed the name of Boodh.

Boodh had with him for a guard Thiakre Aramma Vishnu and Maheeschweere. They had each a dagger in their hand. The devils remarked that, after this none of their attempts upon mankind were successful; and that their power declined under the ascendant of Boodh. They accordingly resolved with their chief Wasse Mantimanda, to make a violent attack upon the author of this new sect, which threatened to cause a general apostacy from the worship of demons, and to become the universal faith.

The devils accordingly made their appearance like an embattled host, when they attacked Boodh with impetuous violence. But Boodh met them with a much more powerful army, whilst every blade of grass, tree, branch and leaf, converted into a shower of arms, assisted in the conflict. The devils could not long resist this accumulation of hostility. They vanished into smoke. After this victory, Boodh, in the joy of his triumph, assumed for a week the name of Gauteme Boodh, in order to denote that he had vanquished his enemies.

In the following week it began to rain violently, when the devils were very busy, although they did not dare to approach Boodh, whose prowess they had so lately experienced. But they saw, to their utter astonishment, that a snake of immense size had laid the flat part of its head on the head of Boodh, in order to protect him from the rain.

In the third week, the devils again showed themselves in the form of women, and practised all their wiles, in order to ensnare the affections of Boodh; but they were soon vanquished as before, and obliged hastily to retire.

In the fourth week, Boodh paid peculiar honours to the tree under which he sat.

In the fifth week, a tower of rubies descended from heaven, into which he entered, in order to receive the homage of his votaries.

In the sixth week, he left this tower, and retired under a tree, named Kiripallu-nunge, where he beheld a multitude of angels in the air, in whose presence he glorified God in the language of love and praise.

In the seventh week he withdrew to a town called Sewetnure, where the Emperor Cosele Maha Raja had a place prepared for his reception. Here he taught his doctrines to kings, princes, and subjects. He now added five apostles to his mission, two of whom he placed on his right hand, and two on his left, whilst the fifth was appointed to minister to his necessities. Besides these he had 500 disciples, whom he employed to announce his mission, to diffuse his doctrines over the whole world, and to eradicate the heresies of other sects. He also composed different books, which were designed to preserve his doctrine, and to furnish precepts for the regulation of conduct. Here he remained occupied for forty-five years, till he went into the town of Cussirana Nure, in the province of Mallewe, when he retired into a fruit-garden belonging to the king, where reclining on a couch, which had been prepared to receive him, he expired in the same place, the same month, and the same hour, in which he was born.

His disciples were disconsolate for his loss ; but they heard the admonitions of his spirit, saying, Do not lament because my time is come to depart out of the world. Burn my body, and lay my bones in the grave ; but, above all, be diligent in maintaining the doctrine I have taught. He ordered that Ceylon, Siam, and Arracan, should particularly engage their attention, as the sovereignty of those countries was vested in the descendants of the emperor, Zuddodene Raja.

Truth is uniform and consistent, but fiction is variable and incongruous; and therefore it is no wonder that the accounts* of Boodh, which are a tissue of fables, should be very dissimilar and inconsistent.

* "Hy is elf maanden in de buik van zyn moeder geweest." Valentyn, p. 369. Undecim menses in utero matris fuit; and all this time his brightness rendered him as visible as a silken thread, which is run through a chrystal. In their accounts of Boodh, or Buddha, learned men differ about the age in which he lived, and the country in which his religious doctrines were first promulgated. It seems, however, to be highly probable, that the system which he inculcated was anterior to that of the Brahmins, by which it had begun to be superseded about the commencement of the Christian æra, though it maintained its ground in some parts of the peninsula of India till a later period. It is at this day diffused over the empire of the Birmans, and the kingdom of Siam and Cambodia. But in those countries, in which the votaries of Boodh were extirpated by those of Brahma, the latter adopted many of the notions of their predecessors, and the two religions have thus been in some degree amalgamated. They both prevail in Ceylon, rather in a state of amicable union than hostile separation. If the Island of Ceylon did not form the first cradle in which the religion of Boodh was fondled into life, nurtured in its growth, and matured in its strength, it seems certain, that it was introduced into this country from the continent of India soon after its commencement. Sir William Jones supposes Boodh, or Buddha, to have been the same with Sesostris, who, about ten centuries before the Christian æra, rendered his conquests subservient to the extension of a new religion from the Nile to the Ganges. But if Boodh and Sesostris were two names for the same individual, the mighty conqueror must have wreathed his sword in the olive branch when he promulgated his doctrine in the East; for the religion of Boodh is essentially a religion of peace; and conquerors are not very likely to inculcate truths that represent their greatest achievements as vile and contemptible, exciting the displeasure of God, and meriting the abhorrence of mankind. According to the Hindoos, Boodh was the ninth avatar, or descent of the Deity in the character of preserver, or the ninth incarnation of Vishnu: and Sir William Jones asserts that the Boodh, or Buddha of the Hindoos, is the Fo, or Foe of the Chinese. This Fo is said to have been born in the kingdom of Cashmire in the year 1027, before Christ. Gaduma, Gautuma, or Gauda, is one of the appellations by which Boodh is often designated in the East. Kæmpfer, in his History of Japan, says, that a great saint, called Durma, and a twenty-third successor in the holy see of Seaka, Boodh, or Buddha, came over into China from Seilenseku, or from that part of the world which was westward with respect to Japan, and laid the first firm foundation of Boodhism in that populous empire. Though the worship of Brahma is a competitor for the palm of antiquity with that of Boodh, yet the priority of the latter appears to be the most credible, as the oldest books of the Brahmins make mention of Boodh, and so far establish the remote antiquity of his worship. A strong line of distinction is drawn between the Brahmins and the priests of Boodh by these peculiarities, that in the latter the priesthood is not indelible, that it does not constitute a caste, and that those who belong to it may eat flesh, though they may not put the animal to death.

The Singalese say that Boodh always wore a yellow dress, as a similar colour is still worn by his priests. They have also a tradition that he passed most of his time on Adam's Peak, where he resided at his death. They add, that he ascended to heaven from this spot; and they seem to have borrowed this circumstance of his history from some account which they had heard of the ascension of Christ.

In addition to Boodh, the religious calendar of the Singalese is distinguished by seven other saints or subordinate deities, to each of whom they ascribe peculiar powers and authorities. Of these they exhibit different external representations. One is seen in the shape of an elephant, another in that of the priapus of the ancients; one is figured as an ape, another as a beautiful horse; and all of them have the care of the water tanks.

They worship the images of all these saints; but this worship consists only in the form of placing their clasped hands upon the top of their heads, prostrating themselves three times upon the earth, and uttering this brief invocation: "Budhum Sarnaa Gochal;" O Boodh, think on me! This they never omit in their pagodas, but they practise no other forms of supplication; though, once in their lives, they pronounce three or four thousand prayers. But this solemnity they defer till they are very old; and it more especially belongs to a particular class of persons amongst them, who begin to accommodate themselves to the practice from early youth.

CHAP. XXXI.

Another Account of the Birth of Boodh, with a Variety of Mythological Details.

TWENTY-SIX Boodhs, according to the traditions of the Singalese, preceded the birth of Gautama Boodh, whose doctrine was in a very remote period diffused over a large part of the East. Gautama Boodh was born in heaven, under the name of Santusitte, but not till his birth had received the permission of the preceding Boodhs.

The sovereign of heaven, on this occasion, said to Santusitte—You have now received permission to become a Boodh: now therefore is the time appointed for you to appear in the world under that character. He was accordingly conceived in the womb of Mahamajadevi, the queen of King Suddenam Raddure. His mother was surprised by the pains of labour, as she was proceeding on an excursion of pleasure to a garden in the neighbourhood; and the birth of her infant took place under a tree named Halgas. As soon as he was born, Brahma brought some cloth of gold from heaven, in which he wrapped the child, who was to grow up a holy man, and without sin. Brahma, then taking up the infant, saluted the queen, as the glorious mother of a Boodh. But the mother survived her delivery only seven days, when she passed into heaven, which

* The names of these twenty-six Boodhs, or sages, were Tanhankere, Metankere, Saranankere, Dipankare, Condanje, Mangela, Sumana, Reewette, Soobiette, Anomadasja, Paduma, Naradde, Sommede, Sujaetje, Piadasse, Attodasse, Dammadasse, Siddatta, Tissa, Pussa, Wipassa, Seeki, Wessaboo, Kakalauda, Konagamme, Kaeikgramma.

is the destiny of all the mothers of the Boodhs, on account of their immaculate purity.

After this four heavenly beings appeared, named Pattenasto, Wirudde, Wirubaiksa, Waiissere Wema. They brought with them the skin of a tiger, which had been prepared in heaven, on which they laid the child, and fondled it in their arms; as did all the nobles of his father. After this the child raised himself up from the earth, and on whatever spot he set his right foot, there sprung up a red rose-tree, full of leaves and flowers.

The young prince fixing his feet on the ground, looked towards the east, when all the people and nobles shouted—There is no one so great and glorious as the being whom ye see: and the same exclamation was heard when he turned himself to the other three quarters of the world. Upon this the young prince, who appears to have had very little modesty for one so recently born, said to all the people, There is none so great as I am. He then declared, that he was the master, or teacher of all men; and that no instruction in wisdom was to be had except from him. Again he said—That no man was greater than he; and that all were his inferiors. A fourth time he exclaimed—There is none so great as I; when, advancing his foot seven steps, seven rose-trees instantly appeared, and the same thing happened throughout his whole life; so that wherever he set his foot roses grew. When Boodh had proceeded these seven steps, his father came and took him away, and he appeared as a new-born child.

The young prince was brought into the palace in great state, and much merriment ensued. There was, at that time, a celebrated priest, who frequently ascended into heaven, and was a constant visitor in the palace of the king. This priest, in one of his recent celestial excursions, having observed more than usual rejoicing in heaven, enquired the reason, when he was told that the Queen Mahamajadevi had been delivered of a son, who was destined to become a Boodh.

The priest proceeded with the intelligence he had obtained to the palace of Suddenam Raddure, when he asked the king about the birth of the young prince, whom he desired to behold. All men who were sinners used to testify profound reverence to this priest; but this holy child shewed no signs of homage, but put his feet upon the priest's head. The priest was greatly rejoiced, and, taking the prince in his arms, discovered in his hands and feet 216 tokens by which the Boodhs were always distinguished, along with thirty-two larger and eighty smaller marks in his body. The priest was greatly rejoiced at having thus verified the Boodhism of the child.

On another occasion, the king, having noticed some wonderful works which his son performed, called together forty-six of the most learned people in his dominions, out of whom he selected eight more learned than the rest; and of these he inquired whether this child would be a Boodh or a Brahmin. Seven of them, examining two of his fingers, said that he would become either a Boodh or a king; but the eighth, on looking at the forehead of the prince, saw a twisted hair, which, whenever it was touched, became as long as a man's arm, and then again curled up into its former state. By this sign it was determined that he would certainly become a Boodh.

When the prince was sixteen years old, his father resolved to procure him a wife; and he was to have a choice of wives such as no prince ever had before; for the king assembled no less than 40,000 princesses for the purpose. But multiplicity often makes preference difficult; and this appears to have been the case in the present instance; for the princess whom the prince took for his bride was not one of these 40,000, but a lady named Jasundere Devi, of extraordinary beauty and exalted family. She was the daughter of King Sopperabaedi.

Three palaces were erected for the prince and his consort; one for his residence during the hot season, another during the cold, and another

during that of the rains. The king also had a delicious garden made for the recreation of the royal pair; and a large train of domestics was appointed to minister to their luxury and magnificence.

The king now consulted the wise men about the time when his son would become a Boodh; and they informed him, that it would take place when his son met an old man; secondly, a sick man; thirdly, a dead man; and fourthly, a sangatar, or priest, with a bald head.

The king, who had been apprised that if his son became a Boodh, a potent devil, named Wassawarti Marua, with many other confederate demons, would attempt his destruction, was anxious to delay or to avert the period of his inauguration; and he accordingly ordered the place where he resided to be surrounded by a wall with four gates, where a strict watch was to be kept, and no ingress to be given to any persons like those who have been described.

The prince, who had attained the age of thirty years, was one day proceeding to the garden which the king had provided for his recreation, when one of the heavenly devetas, who were anxious that he should become a Boodh, and who knew that the appointed period was at hand, descended from the celestial regions, and appeared before the prince in the form of an old man. The prince, who was in his carriage, observing this old man, asked one of his attendants if the person he beheld was born in that state, or had become so by gradual decay.

The attendant, who did not at the time think of the prohibition, which he had received, not to reveal such a circumstance to the prince, or to let him fix his eyes on such a form, said that it was an old man; and, when the prince proceeded to inquire whether he also should grow old, the attendant said, that all who were born, and lived, must one day become old. The prince said, if I am one day to exhibit such a picture of decrepitude and deformity as I have just beheld, what pleasure can I

any longer derive from all the grandeur with which I am surrounded, and from all the means of gratification I possess? He accordingly ordered the driver not to proceed to the garden, but to return back to the palace.

The father remarking that his son had come suddenly back, without taking his usual recreation, asked the reason of his attendants, when he was told that the prince had met an old man, which had caused him to return. The king accordingly directed, that a watch of a thousand men should be posted at each gate, who were strictly enjoined not to suffer any persons of a particular description to have admission into the royal residence. At the same time, in order to dispel the melancholy, which had seized the mind of the prince, he directed that music and dancing should be provided as a remedy.

After an interval had elapsed, the prince, thinking no more of the above-mentioned occurrence, prepared for another excursion to the garden of delight. The devetas then dispatched one of their number in the form of a sick man, the sight of which caused the prince to make inquiries similar to those he had done before, when he again desisted from his purpose, and returned to the palace. His father now ordered 2000 watchmen to be placed at each gate, and the music and dancing to be renewed.

After some days, the prince met a dead body in a state of putrefaction, which the devetas exhibited to his view. On making inquiry respecting the loathsome spectacle, the prince was told, that his body would one day assume the same appearance, when he again returned, with grief and melancholy as before. His father again commanded that the watch should be increased, and that the expedient of music and dancing should again be tried upon the prince's mind.

The next time that the prince attempted to visit the garden of plea-

sure, he met one of the devetas in the form of a Sangatar on the way. He was told that this was an auspicious appearance, and a portent of good. The prince, delighted with this intelligence, continued his journey to the garden, full of hope and joy, to which he had long been a stranger. Whilst the prince was in this situation, his wife Jasundera Devi was delivered of a prince. His grandfather, having searched the planets and prefigured his future fortunes, made his son, who was still in the garden, acquainted with the result.

The prince, having seen the child, gave him the name of Rakulo, and said to his attendants—" What, though I have a son born, a magnificent court, and a large establishment, they cannot be supported without great exactions on the industry of my subjects, which must often be attended with injustice and oppression. The birth of a prince, therefore, is no just ground for the congratulations of the people."

When the prince returned from the garden, his attendants described to the king, the form which his son had seen on the way, and the joy it had produced. The king again ordered the dancing to be renewed in the palace, but the prince refused to be present at the festive scene; and, occupied with the thought of becoming a Boodh, retired to his chamber for meditation and repose. But his father said to the dancers, That as his son was sorrowful, they must exhilarate his spirits, and not depart till the effect had been produced.

The prince, however, persisted in refusing to admit the dancers to his presence, and they accordingly retired to a place of rest. The prince rose at midnight; and, whilst the whole palace was resplendent with torches, he beheld the musicians and dancers merged in profound sleep. Some of them were slavering at the mouth, others were lying in a state of perfect nudity; others were talking in their sleep. The prince, contemplating this scene, said within himself, " I must exhibit a spec-

tacle, not less humiliating than this, when I fall asleep; and therefore, it is better for me to be released from this tenement of flesh."

The prince now prepared to leave the palace unobserved; but, as he was proceeding to open the door, he was accosted by one of the nobles, or officers of the court, to whom the prince said, that the period for his becoming a Boodh was at hand, and that he must fetch his horse Cantecanam. The prince mounted the horse, and ordered the officer to get up behind him.

Before they left the court, the horse neighed so loud, that the devetas, in order to prevent it from awakening the people in the palace, came and led it out of the gate. The gate was 100 feet high, and the door made of stone, to open which required the united efforts of 1000 men. But the devetas opened it so softly, that the prince departed unperceived by the watch.

The above-mentioned devil having noticed these proceedings, thought that it would be a great diminution of his dignity if the prince should become a Boodh. In order to prevent this from taking place, the devil appeared to the prince in a blaze of light, and said, That in seven days he should be exalted to the monarchy of the whole world, if he would abandon the attempt to become a Boodh. This assurance was repeated three times.

The prince asked the spectre who it was? When it replied, "I am Wassawarti Marua, the chief of all the devils." The prince said, "I have devoted my kingdom, my wife, my child, my eyes, and my flesh to the relief and solace of the poor; nor will I receive at your hands all the kingdoms in the world; and, though you and a thousand more should tempt me with this prospect of grandeur, you should not induce me to desist from the design of becoming a Boodh." Before the devil depart-

ed, he warned him not to make the attempt, and menaced the most dreadful vengeance if an opportunity offered.

The prince now travelled 120 miles till he came to the river Anomanam, which was a quarter of a mile broad. His horse sprung with him over the stream, and alighted on a bed of fine sand on the opposite side. The prince now thought, that if he were to become a Boodh, he must cut off his hair, which he proceeded to do without further delay. Taking the hair in his hand, he said, The hair of a Boodh, instead of falling to the earth, will mount to the sky. He accordingly threw it out of his hand, when it rose aloft, and a deveta or angel appeared, who conveyed it to heaven in a case of gold.

The prince then thought that his royal dress was not such as became a Boodh. This suggestion no sooner occurred, than Brahma brought him from heaven a yellow, or saffron robe, like what the Boodhs are wont to wear. The prince then threw off his royal apparel and put on the saffron dress, which had been so miraculously communicated. The suit which the prince had ceased to wear Mahobramma inclosed in a box of gold, and conveyed to heaven.

The prince now committed his horse to the care of his attendant, to conduct back to the palace; but the generous steed, unwilling to quit his master, sprung into the river and died.

The prince then wandered for six years through numerous regions, and traversed various wilds, without eating any thing, and experiencing every species of distress. The above-mentioned devil kept continually pursuing his footsteps, in order to watch an opportunity of vengeance, but none appears to have occurred. At the end of the sixth year, and at the period of the full moon in the fifteenth day of the month, the prince said, "Now shall I become a Boodh, and obtain a delicious repast, as all the Boodhs have done."

There was a town named Barnasnuru, in which a princess resided, who was wont, on this occasion, to provide a repast for the Boodh. This princess had 1000 cows, which were kept where the sweetest herbage grew. She took the milk of these 1000 cows, and gave it to 500 to drink. She afterwards gave the milk of these 500 cows to 250; of these 250 to 125; of these 125 to sixty-four; of these sixty-four to thirty two; of these thirty-two to sixteen; and of these sixteen to eight. In the milk of these eight cows she boiled some rice; and she sent one of her maidens, named Fourre, to make preparations for the reception of the Boodh, under a tree called Nugagas. Whilst the maiden was thus employed, the Boodh appeared, when she went to inform the princess, who sent her back with the rice which she had cooked in a magnificent golden bowl. The Boodh took the bowl and proceeded to the river Neranjanam Ganga, where it is requisite on this solemnity for all those who become Boodhs to keep their feast. Of the rice which was in the bowl the prince made forty-nine cakes, which he put one after another in his mouth. After emptying the bowl he threw it into the river, when it rose to the top of the water, and floated to the point where the bowls of the other Boodhs lay. It then sunk to the bottom; and such a noise was made by the collision of the different bowls, that it was heard not only by the other Boodhs, but by Mahahella Naja Radjura, who was a king in Nagalove, or the world under the earth.

This subterraneous king, on hearing the clang of the bowls said, "Kakasomda has been a Boodh for some days; Kamagamma has been a Boodh for some days; this is the day in which Gautama is become a Boodh—we must go and celebrate the festival." He accordingly departed with 40,000 dancers, whilst the Boodh, leaving the place where he had thrown the bowl, had retired under the Bogas, or sacred tree. The Boodh was placed on a raised seat reclining against the tree, when the above-mentioned monarch made his appearance with his 40,000 attendants, who began to weave the dance. The devetas also came with dancers and musicians; and a Sakkrea, who was four miles high, brought a

train of 10,000 dependants playing upon pipes which were fourteen cubits long. Brahma came also with 10,000 men, bearing white umbrellas. He himself held an umbrella over the Boodh, and the others stood round about him; after which other celestial forms appeared with flutes and a diversity of musical instruments. Whilst they were celebrating the festival, the rejoicing, with which it was accompanied, was heard by the devil Wassawarti Marua, who had so long in vain persecuted the prince, and who thought, that if he could not succeed in effecting his vengeance on this solemn occasion, the opportunity would be lost for ever. He accordingly ordered his drum, called Wassawarti Goza, to be beat, which uttered such a stunning sound, that it made the ears bleed of all his subordinate fiends. They all assembled, and asked why he had called them together, and if he wanted their services in any impending war. He replied, that they must exert themselves to do all possible injury to the new-made Boodh. They accordingly transformed themselves into snakes, crows, and other shapes, and departed to act against the Boodh. Wassawarti himself had 1000 hands and 500 heads; and in each of his hands he held arms of different kinds, whilst he sat upon an elephant, named Girinucalla, on which he led his host of devils.

This assemblage of fiends surrounded those who were celebrating the feast, who, being greatly alarmed, threw away their musical instruments and umbrellas, and fled with precipitation, leaving Boodh alone. The devils now hemmed him in on all sides: but, though deserted by all his friends, he felt assured, that the alms which he had given would stand him in good stead, and keep him from all harm.

Wassawarti now called forth a raging tempest, in order to tear up the tree by the roots on which Boodh reclined, and to carry both him and it into other realms: but, though all the neighbouring trees were beat down and dispersed by the wind, not a leaf of the Bogas was shaken. The devil had now recourse to an impetuous torrent of water, in order

to effect his vindictive purpose, and next to a raging fire; but all these elements of destruction were employed in vain, as well as other expedients which his rage led him to try. He now made furious attacks upon Boodh with one of his arms, which was more powerful than the rest, and of a round form; but, instead of wounding the holy man, it remained suspended like an umbrella over his head.

Wassawarti, finding that all his attempts proved abortive, now claimed the seat on which the Boodh sat under the Bogas as his own, and called his devils to attest his right, which they proclaimed with a terrible cry. But the Boodh said that the earth should be his witness; and immediately a female form rose half above the surface, and declared the right of Boodh to the seat with such an appalling voice, that Wassawarti, with all his assembled fiends, instantly fled. The Boodh now remained here seven days without rising from his seat; but on the seventh day he arose, when he stood for seven days, looking up to the Bogas. Near this tree was a house of diamonds and rubies, in which he remained for seven days, meditating his law. He next went for seven days to a water-tank, which was frequented by a snake, named Musselindenam Nagea. Boodh now stood for seven days under the flat head of the serpent, which he employed as a protection from the rain. Hence he went under another tree, called Keripallugas, where he continued seven days; and next he proceeded to a tree named Halgas, under which he passed fourteen days.

The devil Wassawarti had three sisters, who, having heard that their brother had failed in all his attempts upon the Boodh, visited him with a company of 600 captivating females, who employed every feminine artifice to fascinate his affections and make him their slave. But he remained invincible even to all this variety of blandishments. Having passed through this terrible ordeal, he became established as a Boodh, and assembled his company of priests.

CHAP. XXXII.

Adam's Peak; Traditions respecting a Pagoda on the Top. Mode of ascending the Peak; Stone upon the Top with the Footstep of Adam, or Boodh. Adam's Footstep an Object of Devotion amongst the Siamese; a Representation of it in Gold. Valentyn's minute Description of the Figures on Adam's Peak. Ancient Denomination by the Singalese. Purification of the Pilgrims before they ascend the Peak; curious Mode of ascertaining whether they are sufficiently purified to pay their Homage to the Footstep. The Numbers who resort to this Place. The Tank of Fecundity. The Footstep attracts Moorish Devotees. Tradition of the Moors respecting Prince Sogomom Barcaon.

ONE of the most sacred places in the opinion of the Singalese is the mountain called Adam's Peak, which is situated in the centre of the broadest part of the island, and, according to Valentyn, at the distance of about fourteen German miles from Columbo. He says that it may be seen from sea at the distance of ten or twelve German miles; but at a greater, according to other calculations.

A beautiful pagoda formerly stood on the top of this hill, respecting which many traditions are circulated and many stories told. They say that it was the abode of Boodh, who was a disciple of the apostle Thomas. They add, that he stood with one foot upon this hill, and another upon a hill upon the coast of Madura, when such a flood of water burst forth as to separate the Island of Ceylon from the main land.

Pilgrims and travellers climb to the sacred summit of Adam's Peak by means of an iron chain which is fastened to the rock; and the links

of which serve as the footsteps of a ladder to facilitate the ascent. On the top, according to Valentyn, there is an area of 150 paces in length, and 110 in breadth. In the centre of this plain there is a large stone, rising about three feet above the ground, and seven or eight feet in length, where the glowing imagination of the devotees discovers the sacred footstep of Adam or of Boodh. But some, who have seen this consecrated relic, affirm that they discovered nothing more than an excavation, smeared with the oil of the lamps which the pilgrims burn in that spot. When the pilgrims descend from the mount, they always carry with them a little of the earth, which they regard as very holy.

Baldeus says, that this impression of Adam's foot is not an object of adoration peculiar to the Singalese, for that the people of Siam possess a similar object of devotional regard. The Siamese, says the author just mentioned, exhibit a footstep impressed upon a stone on a mountain, which is an ell and a half long and three-fourths broad. The sides of it are covered with silver; and a magnificent temple is erected in the neighbourhood, round which many of the priests of the country and other persons dwell.

In March, 1654, according to Baldeus, these priests shewed to some Dutchmen, who had gone purposely to examine this sacred footstep, a representation of it in gold, and of similar dimensions, on which different images were engraven, which had before been exhibited upon the impression of the foot in the rock. But when these images had been pourtrayed in gold, they vanished from the stone.

M. Valentyn has given a very circumstantial account of the figures and images which are found on Adam's Peak, with the exact dimensions of their heads, eyes, ears, noses, mouths, shoulderblades, arms, palms of the hands, middle fingers, with the nails of the same, the great toes, and their nails, and the form of the chambers in which these colossal specimens of idolatry are placed. But, without entering into further details,

I shall content myself with referring the reader to the place where he may obtain as much of this valuable information as the heart of the most eager curiosity can desire.*

Diego de Couto, an accurate Portuguese writer, who collected the ancient opinions respecting this sacred locality, from the oldest inhabitants and from their vernacular books, says that the Singalese give to this hill the name of Hammanelle Siripade, or the Hill of the Footstep. It rises rapidly from the base; and in its ascent separates into two tops, on one of which is the sacred footstep; and from the summit of both some streams descend, which form a river in the plain below.

The pilgrims, who come to pay their homage to the footstep, bathe themselves in this purifying stream, which is called Sitegangele. This washing they regard as a sort of baptism.

On one of the tops of the Peak there is a small plain, in the midst of which is a cistern for water, called Wellemallacandure. It is raised upon two large stones; and in the middle of it there is a footstep, which they call Siripade. It is much larger than that of a common man, and seems an impression upon the stone like that of a seal upon wax.

Innumerable pilgrims flock to this spot from the most distant regions; and even the natives of Persia and China come to experience the virtues of these purifying waters. After their purification they climb up the precipitous hill; and at a little distance from the top they find some steps, or rather two upright columns, of stone, on which another stone is laid from one to the other. Here a bell is fixed, which, according to the fashion of the Chinese, is of the finest metal, with a large clapper in the middle. To this is attached a rope of leather, which each of the ascending devotees must pull, and make the bell strike, in order to

* See Valentyn Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, &c. &c. Vyfde deel, p. 376, &c.

ascertain whether he is clean: for, if he is unclean, they believe that the bell will return no sound; and, in that case, the person must descend again to the foot of the hill, and practise with still greater solemnity the ceremonials of his purification. Thus it is that they keep off the assaults of the devils, with which the land abounds; but he is never pure, for whom the bell refuses to ring.

This hill is sometimes the resort of four or five hundred pilgrims at a time; who, when they reach the top, can do nothing more than kiss the stone with profound reverence and return again. For they are not permitted to climb up the cistern, or water-tank, which the Singalese term the tank of fecundity. When any women are unfruitful, they drink of this water, which is brought them by the jogis; for if they were to draw it themselves it would be an unpardonable sin.

This stone is frequented also by Moorish devotees, who say that it exhibits the footstep of Adam; and that this is the spot where he fixed his foot for the last time before he rose up into heaven. There is an old tradition in the East, that Adam, being driven out of paradise, was removed to a hill in India, called Serandive, which means the Island of Ceylon.

Marco Paulo says, that the Moors believe Adam to have been buried here. He farther adds, upon their authority, that the son of a king, named Sogomom Barcaon, despising the pomp of royalty, retired to this hill for the purpose of leading a holy life; that hence he ascended into heaven, and that his father ordered pagodas to be erected, and images to be made, in honour of his memory. But when the Singalese were interrogated upon these topics, they excited their derision, as a different account is exhibited in their old writings, and particularly in their national songs, in which they preserve most of their ancient transactions, and of which they perpetuate the remembrance by constant repetition.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Another Singalese Tradition respecting Adam's Peak. History of a Prince fated from his Birth to prefer the Life of a Devotee to that of a King.

THE Singalese retain a tradition about a king, who was sovereign of the whole East, who, after being married many years without having any children, at last obtained a son from God in a very advanced age. This son was unrivalled in majesty of stature and beauty of countenance. The father, who had recourse to the astrologers to cast the nativity of his son, was informed, that he would prefer a holy life to the possession of royal power, and would become a pilgrim (or a jogi) rather than a king. The father, who fondly hoped to avert this destiny, ordered his son, whom he designed for the sceptre, to be brought up in a garden, or park, surrounded by a high wall. Here he had no companions, but some noble youths of his own age; and guards were posted so as to prevent any communication from without, and to remove every cause of inquietude and alarm. Hence all the means of information which the prince possessed, were confined to the objects which he saw, and the conversation which he had, in the shady bowers within which he was immured.

Within this prescribed boundary the royal youth continued till he was eighteen years of age, without having acquired any ideas of sickness, misery, or death. But, with the expansion of his intellectual faculty, he desired to enlarge his sphere of information, and to pass the limits to which his existence had hitherto been confined. He accordingly requested permission of his father to indulge his curiosity in travelling over

the kingdom. The father complied with his wishes, but ordered his attendants to watch him with scrupulous tenderness.

As he was proceeding on his journey, he met a cripple, and asked his companions what that object was? They answered that this was no uncommon occurrence in the world, as there were many who were lame, blind, &c. On another occasion, he saw an old man bent almost double with age, leaning on a staff, and shaking under the weight of years. The prince recoiled with horror at the sight; and, asking the reason of what he beheld, he was told that it was the common effect of time upon the human frame.

On one occasion he was met by a corpse passing to the grave with a procession of mourners dissolved in tears. He asked the reason of the heart-rending scene, and was told that it was what he himself must come to at last! The prince grew thoughtful and melancholy. Whilst his mind was absorbed in a state of pensive anxiety, a pilgrim appeared before him, whose suggestions inspired him with a contempt of the world, and incited him to lead a life of solitary and devotional meditation.

After this he found means to escape from his guard, and pursued his way into the interior of the country in the habit of a pilgrim. The Singalese have a tissue of fables respecting his flight; but, in the course of his wanderings, he came to Ceylon with a multitude of attending devotees, when he retired to the Hill of the Footstep, upon which he passed many years with so much sanctity, that the inhabitants adored him as a god. When he had resolved to depart from this island to other regions, his disciples entreated him to leave behind him some memorial which might serve to excite their reverence for his name. He accordingly fixed the print of his foot in the hollow of the cistern, which has been previously mentioned, and left it as a sacred relic for future devotees.

The Singalese histories ascribe several names to this prince, but his proper name, says De Couto, as quoted by Valentyn,* was Drama Raja; and after he became a saint he bore that of Boodh,† which means the wise.

* P. 381.

† I have before remarked, that there were many Boodhs, or Budhas. Valentyn mentions no less than the names of twenty-six before Gautuma Boodh. If we consider the term as a general appellative for sage, we need not wonder at the multiplication of the name.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Idolatry and Superstition. Conviction of a First Cause. Subordinate Deities of the Singalese; their Pagodas; their different Orders of Priests. High Rank and Privileges of the Tirinanxes. Celibacy of the Priests; on what Terms permitted to marry. Visit of a Priest to a scrupulous Devotee. The Priests called Coppuhs, the Jaddeses. Worship of Devils. Anxiety of the Sick to propitiate the tormenting Fiend. Supposed Inspiration of the Priests. Days of Worship. Festivals.

IDOLATRY converts spiritual agents into objects of sense, and consequently multiplies subordinate deities. Superstition peoples the earth, the ocean, and the air, with imaginary beings, but without the definite form which idolatry bestows. But neither idolatry nor superstition exclude gradations of power, or dependencies of causation: but graduated power supposes a higher and a higher, till we come to a highest; and secondary causes necessarily imply a first.

The idea of infinite power will present itself to the mind, however grossly it may contemplate the earth and the heavens: but infinite power must be essentially one and indivisible; for two omnipotents would involve a contradiction. Hence, as the mind labours to ascend to the beginning of all things, one supreme and only cause becomes an irresistible conviction, and is found generally prevalent both among the savage and the sage, the barbarous and the civilized. This conviction has not been withheld from the Singalese; and, though their theogony is composed of a numerous progeny of gods, yet, while they ascribe the direction of human affairs to inferior deities, they represent those deities

rather as exercising a delegated trust, than an absolute and independent power. The inferior deities of the Singalese are supposed to be the spirits of good men, of transcendent piety and virtue. In the same manner, they suppose the spirits of wicked men, to be converted into devils; from whose malicious attacks they are protected by the subordinate deities, who have been just mentioned, of whom Boodh is the appointed chief.

Of their numerous pagodas,* some are magnificent structures, and seem to demonstrate that the Singalese, in some former period, had attained to a degree of excellence in the arts, and probably to a state of advancement in the scale of civilization, from which they afterwards declined.

Some of their temples exhibit painted staves, shields, and arms of various kinds, but no military instruments are suspended in the sanctuaries of Boodh, who was the advocate of peace.

Some of the pagodas are endowed with great revenues, and possess high privileges. Indeed, they were so enriched by the superstition or the bounty of different sovereigns, as in process of time to be possessed of more villages and estates than the crown itself could boast.

Of the great revenues which have been appropriated to particular temples, a great part is by the priests expended in offerings to their gods, before whose insensate images, they are continually placing an exuberant variety of viands, which afterwards serve to regale the appetites of those who are employed in the sanctuary. Some state elephants are also kept for the service of the temples, which give an imposing grandeur to their religious processions, and occasion a great expense. The priests of these holy places are exempted from

* See Valentyn, Vol. V. p. 402, &c. Knox's Relation, p. 144, &c.

all civil contributions to the wants of the state, or the exactions of the sovereign.

The Singalese temples, like the churches in some Catholic countries, served as places of refuge for criminals of every description; and the emperor himself had so much respect for the priesthood, as not to cause any persons to be taken by force from the consecrated walls, to which they had fled for protection.

Besides the larger and more sumptuous temples, the Singalese have numerous smaller, and some very diminutive sanctuaries, which they erect in their grounds or yards, upon a pillar or post, in which they place an image of Boodh; and where they burn lamps and make oblations.

The priests of the Singalese are distributed into three ranks or orders. Those who are above all the rest are called tirinanxes, and set apart for the ministration of Boodh, whose temples are denominated vehars. These high priests have a large mansion in the town of Dietlighy, where they meet together, and hold their consultations about the interests of the hierarchy and the affairs of the church. None but persons of noble birth, and of the best education and manners, are admitted into this class of priests; and, those who are admitted, though they nominally belong to the class, do not immediately obtain a place in the vehar or college at Dietlighy, which consists of only three or four persons. The tirinanxes were appointed immediately by the Emperor or King of Candy. They exercise an high authority over the other priests.

The large estates, which have been bequeathed or appropriated to their temples or vehars, are subject to their control. The rest of this first class of priests are called gonnis. These, as well as the tirinanxes, all

wear long yellow robes, which are fastened by a fine linen girdle round the loins, and drawn over the left shoulder. The hair is shaven off the head, and they carry a round fan or umbrella in the hand, to protect them from the sun. They are permitted to wear the tallipot leaf with the broad end outwards, which was a mark of distinction, reserved exclusively for them and for the emperor.

These priests are objects of general respect amongst the Singalese, who shew them the same ceremonious homage which they pay to the images of their gods. When they enter a house, a mat is spread for their feet, and a white cloth thrown over a stool for them to sit upon, which are exterior demonstrations of respect, that the king or ambassadors only used to share.

This sacerdotal office is not compatible with any species of manual labour. The priests, as long as they continue to exercise their functions, are doomed to the most rigorous celibacy; though they are at liberty to renounce their sacred calling, if they resolve to enjoy the sweets of connubial life. But, in this case, they must strip off their robes, throw them into the river, and wash their heads and bodies, when they resume their place amongst the laity.

When any person is particularly anxious about the state of his soul, he has recourse to one of these high priests, for the solution of his doubts, or the dissipation of his inquietudes. Great parade is exhibited on the occasion. The priest walks to the house of the disconsolate devotee, under a sort of canopy, carried by four men, and preceded by drums and pipes, in such state as used to be permitted to no other person in the country except the emperor. When he reaches the place of his destination, he is sumptuously entertained for one or two days, and is then escorted back to his own house, with the same pomp as before, and accompanied by the presents by which his ghostly labours

have been recompensed. Whilst the priest continues in the house, where he has gone to exercise his spiritual ministration, he keeps singing during the whole night certain hymns out of a book made of tallipot leaves. These he explains to the auditors as they relate to the mysteries of their religion ; and the diction is so figurative and inflated, as to be quite unintelligible to the common people.

The order of priests next to the tirinanxes are commonly called coppahs ; and their temples dewals. They minister in the worship of the other gods. These priests are not distinguished by their dress from the rest of the people, except in taking care when they perform their religious rites, that what they wear shall be neat and clean. They are chosen from amongst persons of noble rank, and derive no other emolument from their sacred functions than that of a certain piece of land, which has been bequeathed, or presented, to the dewal in which they minister.

The coppuhs engage in agricultural pursuits like the rest of the Singalese, except in the intervals when their attendance is required in the discharge of their sacred functions, which is usually morning and evening, as the revenues of each temple will permit. What they have to do, is to present to the idols the offerings which the devout lay down before the door of the temple. After the offering has continued some time before the idol, the priest carries it again out of the temple, when it is consumed by the drummers, pipers, and other officers. No flesh is ever offered to these idols ; but every species of vegetable product.

The priests of the third order are called jaddeses, or priests of the spirits, which pass under the name of dajuntas, and their temples under that of covels, which form the smallest species of pagoda, and have no revenue set apart for their support.

When any individual affects extraordinary devotion, he builds a little

chapel in his yard, of which himself becomes the priest. Various devices are painted on the walls, as well as figures with furious looks and menacing attitudes. These temples are much more commonly called houses of jacco, or the devil, than of God. On some extraordinary festivals, these priests cut off their beards in honour of the devil.

When any one is sick, it is usual to consecrate a young red cock to the devil, which, as the priest holds in his hand, he implores the fiend that the sick man may be restored to health. In case of his recovery, the cock is brought up in the yard where the covel stands, in order to be afterwards sacrificed, unless the priest think proper, under some other pretext, to convert it into money, as is frequently the case.

As the Singalese imagine that no other devil can cure any sickness but the one by whom it has been occasioned, their first object is to find out what particular devil, or evil spirit, is the author of the mischief. For this purpose they have recourse to certain magic observances, which never fail of success, under the sagacious management of the priest.

When the people are desirous of learning the will of Heaven in any particular conjuncture, the priests either become frantic, or counterfeit the appearance of frenzy, when they pretend that they are actuated by the Spirit of God: and their submissive votaries imagine that every thing which they utter, during this interval of real or personated delirium, is the undoubted word of God. At this time the priests receive as much homage as the gods.

Wednesdays and Saturdays are the days which they select for their pious ceremonials and different religious ministrations. Besides these ordinary days of worship, they have annual festivals, of which the most magnificent is that which is celebrated at Candy on the new moon, in the month of June or July, when there is a general meeting, which is called Perahar. But no compulsion is employed, and every one goes to the

pagoda to which he gives the preference. A similar perahar is, at the same time, observed in other parts of the country; but in that at the capital the greatest magnificence is displayed. The particulars of the spectacle are detailed at length in Knox and Valentyn. The great festival, in honour of Boodh, is celebrated in the month of March, at the commencement of the Singalese year, both on Adam's Peak and under the Bogahah tree, which is found in the country of Anarodgburro, in the northern part of Ceylon. These solemnities are kept up for three or four nights, when they are terminated by the full moon.

CHAP. XXXV.

Introduction of Christianity into Ceylon. Mission of Xavier; Commencement of his Labours; his Discussion with the Brahmins. Wonderful Effects of Baptism on a Woman at Tutocoryn, with other Wonders. What kind of Conversions he effected. Xavier's numerous Baptisms at Travancore; he sends some Priests to Manaar; their Labours obstructed by the King of Jaffnapatam. This King's eldest Brother escapes to Goa, and is baptized. Xavier repairs to Manaar with a Fleet. The King of Jaffnapatam subjugated; revolts; persecutes the Christians; attacks Manaar; is entirely vanquished by the Portuguese, who multiplied their Converts as they extended their Dominion, till the Dutch attempted to substitute the Reformed Faith for that of the Church of Rome.

THE Christian formularies and doctrines which are maintained by the Church of Rome were first introduced into Ceylon in the year 1452, bythe celebrated Francis Xavier, who has been styled the Apostle of the Indians, and who commenced his devout labours in the neighbourhood of the pearl fishery.

As soon as he landed, he caused some portions of the Creed to be printed, with short explanations and prayers, which he formed into a sort of confession of faith. But what he more particularly taught the natives to repeat was the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the Credo; and, above all, made a forcible impression upon their minds by the austerity of his character and the temperate habits of his life.

Xavier entered into a variety of doctrinal discussion with the Brahmins in the neighbourhood of Madura, of whom he was never able to

make a single convert. But he is said to have converted 40,000 persons of the common sort. Before his arrival, there are related to have been 20,000 persons who had the name of Christians, though they were heathens in superstition. These probably owed their origin to the Christians of St. Thomas; but the Portuguese say, that they were not to be compared with the Christians whose conversion was effected by the labours of Xavier.

After Xavier had sufficiently displayed his zeal, and exercised his mission on the coast of Madura, he retired to Tutocoryn, where he baptized a woman with child, but who had always hitherto had her wishes of progeny frustrated when on the point of being realized. But she had no sooner experienced the waters of baptism, than she was happily delivered. After this he baptized not only her new-born child, but all her family; and, finally, the whole town, which this marvellous occurrence had thrown into a state of pious consternation.

He also performed some other wonderful achievements in their neighbourhood. He released those who were possessed by the devil; and, in several instances, raised the dead. Hence he obtained the name of the Great Father; but he is said not to have been at all elated by the authority he exercised, or the celebrity he acquired.

Valentyn remarks, that the numerous converts which Xavier made from amongst the Indians, in so short a time, may well excite the surprise of those who have since found that several years were necessary in order to convert only three or four individuals. But much of the astonishment vanishes, when we consider, that these converts consisted principally of persons who had been taught only to repeat an Ave Maria or a Paternoster, but who had no further knowledge of Christianity. But what they had learned by rote,* and that with more repugnance

* Valentyn affirms, that the Indians are as slow in learning as they are rapid in forgetting

than inclination, they of course forgot as soon as Xavier had retired. Such were the Christians, of whose evangelical faith this zealous missionary had to boast.

In February, 1544, Xavier, who had gone back to Goa, returned again with Mansilla, and some other priests, of whom he left four at Travancore, where, in a single month, he baptized more than 10,000 of the heathen; on which account a persecution was raised against him by their priests, and by many Christians who had forsaken the faith.

The news of the great success of Xavier's preaching at Travancore caused him to receive solicitations from the inhabitants of Manaar, to whom he sent some priests, intending to appear amongst them in person as soon as his present converts were more established in the faith.

In the mean time, the priests whom he had dispatched to Manaar were very well received; but the King of Jaffnapatam beheld their progress with a jealous eye; and shortly after ordered a massacre of 600 persons of the island of both sexes, and of all ages. He sought, at the same time, an opportunity of destroying his elder brother, to whom the crown properly belonged; but he made his escape to Goa, where he was well received by the Portuguese, and admitted into the pale of the Christian faith.

Xavier now proceeded to Cochin and Cambaja, in order to obtain auxiliaries to co-operate with him in destroying the tyrant of Jaffnapatam. After having obtained the aid that he sought, he repaired, in April 1545, with a fleet to Manaar; but this enterprise was,

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what they have learned, as soon as the effort ceases by which the impression was made. According to a common expression, they require to be kept constantly to it. But this incapacity of intellectual retention seems to prove rather that the teacher cannot interest, than that the scholar cannot remember, what he has been taught.

for the present, rendered abortive by an accident. The Portuguese, however, afterwards subjugated the whole kingdom of Jaffnapatam: but the king soon shook off the yoke, and commenced a persecution against the Christians. In 1590, he appeared with a considerable fleet in the bay of Manaar, when there were only sixty men in the fortress; but he was so vigorously repulsed by this small garrison, that he took to flight with considerable loss. In 1591 he renewed the attempt, when he was again vanquished, along with his auxiliary host of Malabar pirates; and all Jaffnapatam was reduced to submission by the brave Don Andrea Furtado de Mendoza, who had been sent there by Matthias Albuquerque, the Viceroy of Goa. From this period the Portuguese, gradually extending their dominion in Ceylon, had an opportunity of multiplying the number of their converts to the Roman Catholic faith.

As long as the Portuguese exercised their sway over the maritime parts of the island, the work of conversion was at different intervals prosecuted with more or less success by the zeal of their priests, till the arrival of the Dutch, who, becoming in their turn masters of the coast, laboured to substitute the Reformed faith for that of the Church of Rome.

CHAP. XXXVI.

A Regulation of the Dutch for the Diffusion of their Language in Ceylon. Reflections upon.

THE Dutch had not long obtained possession of the island before they made some wholesome regulations, for the purpose of diffusing their own language and eradicating that of the Portuguese. With this view, it was ordered that every planter or proprietor in the island should cause the hair of all his male slaves, who could not speak the Dutch language, to be cut off close to their heads; and that all those slaves who could speak the language should be suffered, by way of distinction, to wear long hair. It was at the same time ordained, that all those persons, who did not carry these regulations into effect within six weeks after the date of the same, should be amerced in a fine of three* reals, with the exception of those owners, whose slaves already understood the language, which it was the object of the government to diffuse.†

Valentyn thinks, that it would have been politic for the Dutch East India Company to have adopted resolutions, similar to those above-

* Valentyn. Vyfde deel, p. 414.

† I must here remark that, though I commend the attempt of the Dutch to naturalize their language in their foreign settlements, I do not think that they had recourse to the best possible expedient which wisdom or humanity might have suggested for that purpose. Let England adopt the principle, but improve the mode of effecting the end. Let her sedulously labour to diffuse her vernacular idiom through all her foreign settlements; and let her regard this as the best means of facilitating the greatest of all human works—the intellectual improvement of man.

mentioned, in all their settlements. And he adds, that if this measure had been universally adopted, the benefit which would have accrued, with respect to the intellectual improvement of the native inhabitants, would in the course of twenty years have been ten times as great as from the united efforts of all their preachers. Of their preachers, many either had not sufficient capacity or sufficient leisure to make themselves masters of the different languages; and those who with much difficulty did acquire the knowledge of one or two idioms, were often removed to situations where it was of little use.

Wherever a nation forms a settlement, nothing can contribute more to its security on the one hand, or its prosperity on the other, than the propagation of the language of the settlers through all parts of the settlement. No other expedient can so effectually facilitate the purpose of instruction, or the introduction of modes and sentiments, of which the natives have no knowledge, or to which they feel a repugnance; where their ignorance is to be enlightened, or their prejudices to be subdued.

The Romans established their power as much by the influence of their language as by the force of their arms. They did not learn the barbarous dialect of the conquered provinces, but they made it the interest of those provinces to learn the language of Rome. No nation ever possessed such singular facilities for transplanting its language, or a field of such wide extent for its growth and propagation, as the English; but they have not made the most of the auspicious opportunity. In their numerous settlements, and vast foreign domains, they have not adopted those means which policy might have suggested, for inciting the natives to become acquainted with the language which is spoken on the banks of the Thames. Instead of Englishmen learning the numerous dialects of Hindoostan, would it not tend more to the perpetuation of the British dominions in the East Indies, to hold out the highest encouragement to the natives to study the idiom in which the works of Shakspeare and Milton, of Bacon and Locke, were composed?

The institution of casts is what more than any thing else enfeebles the understanding, impairs the energy, and eternizes the degradation of the human species in the East. But what could so powerfully tend to break the spell of ages, by which the submissive myriads of the East have bowed their necks to this most oppressive and most pernicious institution, as to encourage the natives of all casts to think and speak in the idiom* of Britain, and to read those authors, whose writings breathe sentiments of the purest virtue, and the most diffusive benevolence; which impress the most exalted notions of the goodness of God and the dignity of human nature; which establish the independence of the mind, and destroy the chains both of superstition and of tyranny?

* When Valentyn wrote, he recommended that no other language than that of the Dutch should be employed in the whole extent of their Indian possessions. This would certainly have tended greatly to promote the propagation of Christianity; and it would at the same time have made a great addition to the strength and the security of their dominions in those regions. As the English possess at present what no other European nation ever did, the sovereignty of the whole Island of Ceylon, schools for teaching the English language should be established in all parts of the country. All places of power and distinction, which are bestowed upon the natives, should, after the expiration of two or three years, be conferred exclusively on those who had made themselves masters of the English language. A disposition to learn the language should thus as much as possible be excited throughout the island, till its use gradually superseded the ancient idiom of the country.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Physical and intellectual Characteristics of the Singalese; their Moral Qualities; Superstition; Resemblance to the Portuguese. Laxity of Sentiment with respect to Female Chastity. Different Characteristics of the People in the Hill-Country and on the Waste. Strong Prohibitions upon Marriages with Persons of inferior Cast. Marriage, Divorce, Polygamy; their Household Furniture. Principal Articles of Subsistence; their Meats. Drudgery of the Women. Belief in Sorcery. Healthy and long lived.

I SHALL now proceed to exhibit a brief, but characteristic representation of the native Singalese.* Their complexion is not entirely black, but of a deep chesnut, suffused with a yellow tint. Their ears are long and open; their form not robust, their bodies slender and agile, and their minds not deficient in sagacity. They display considerable ingenuity in many of their handicraft operations. They are naturally very hardy, capable of enduring fatigue, supporting life with simple food and little sleep. Their natural disposition is represented as friendly and humane; but this is very much circumscribed by the pride of cast. Where the institution of casts is established, it raises a wall of partition between the different members of the society, which is necessarily unfavourable to the mutual exercise of the kinder sympathies, and to the general operations of benevolence.

Though they are said to respect some of the moral qualities, to venerate probity, and to abominate thieving, yet truth, which lays the first basis of moral character, is not a particular object of their regard. To

* I shall here make liberal use of Valentyn, Keurlyke Beschryving, &c. vyfde deel. p. 43.

tell lies is with them thought no sin; and even a detection causes no shame.*

Superstition, which is a common characteristic of the Indians, prevails to an excessive degree amongst the Singalese. The most trivial occurrence is sufficient to make them relinquish any journey on which they have set out, or any undertaking which they have begun.

They bear a close resemblance to the Portuguese in the sombre gravity of their physiognomy, manner, and gait. They are clear in their ideas, and shrewd in their observations, but full of subtilty and stratagem; nor is any dependence to be placed upon their promises and engagements.

The want of jealousy in the men is not owing to the fidelity of the women. On occasional visits of their friends, they make no scruple of indulging them with the temporary caresses of their daughters, or even of their wives. But if a daughter should unite herself with a person of inferior rank, she must take care to keep out of the sight of her friends, as they would certainly take away her life; not from any respect for chastity, but from that feeling of pride, which eternizes the disparity of casts. With the exception of this prohibitory check, there is no sin more common amongst them, or which is less restrained, than that of fornication; and they even incite their children to the commission. In their mutual paroxysms of anger, the word w—— is never one of their terms of abuse; and adultery is so common amongst them, that a woman has little to fear from her husband, when she is not detected in the act; in which case he has a right to put both the offenders to death.

The Singalese who dwell upon the coast are described as of a more gentle and amiable disposition than the inhabitants of the mountains, who are more violent, insensate, and ferocious. The language and de-

* Liegen is by hen geen zonde, nog schande, &c.—Valentyn.

portment of the mountaineers are more polished and complaisant than those of the people who inhabit low lands near the shore; but they are nevertheless more distinguished by malevolence and perfidy.

Their marriages are never permitted to be contracted with persons of an inferior cast, whatever might be the advantages of such an union. But if a man has any casual intercourse with a woman of lower rank than his own, it is reckoned no disgrace to him, provided he does not eat or drink with her, or make her his wife; but, if he should marry into an inferior cast, the legal authorities would either punish him by fine or imprisonment, or by both; and he would remain for ever degraded to the level of the cast into which he had married. His own family would avoid him as a plague.

They marry their daughters at the early age of ten or eleven years, in order to increase the assurance that the bride has not been previously dishonoured; though little stress is sometimes laid upon that circumstance. The matrimonial contract is formed entirely by the parents, who give their daughters a portion according to their means. They occasionally think very light of a divorce; but, in that case, the bridal portion must be restored. They are not often contented with one wife, but take several, according to their means of maintaining them. The bridegroom is obliged to furnish the bride with her wedding-clothes; which, if he does not possess, he is compelled to borrow.

As they cannot eat nor drink with persons of an inferior cast, they have less sociableness in their meals than where this restriction does not prevail. When they drink, they do not apply the vessel close to their lips, but hold it above, and let the fluid drop into their mouths. Their household furniture consists of a few mats, two or three copper basins, some vessels of earthenware or porcelain, two or three wooden-stools without backs, a wooden pestle and mortar, with a hatchet or two, and some baskets. Instead of tables or table-cloths, the ground, or a mat, serves

them for a table, and a plantain-leaf, which they can always have fresh and clean, is a convenient substitute for a cloth or a napkin.

Rice constitutes their bread; and they deem it luxury, when they can add to it a few stewed vegetables, with some pepper and salt, and a little lime-juice. To eat the flesh of the cow would be an abomination. They have not a large supply of meat or fish; and what they have, they are more inclined to part with for money, than to consume themselves. Parsimony and covetousness are qualities which they deem entitled to respect. They venerate him who knows how to live on a little, and to contract his wants within the narrowest compass. Rice, plantains, and some other fruits, with which the country abounds, form the principal articles of their subsistence. They have, or perhaps I ought rather to say had, but few hogs or poultry; for the officers of the government usually took them, without any compensation, whenever they came in their way; and the common people of course felt no inclination to multiply what they were not likely to enjoy. If they should breed more domestic animals or fowls, they would suffer much from the depredations of the civet-cats and tigers; and, whilst they had a native king, he was more desirous that his subjects should be poor than rich.*

The flesh of the goat is appropriated solely to the consumption of the chief, or the gratification of the stranger. Hence, the people in general subsist on the most simple products; and their bill of fare is composed of articles of vegetable growth.

The women are compelled to wait on the men at their meals, and to provide them with what is necessary; and when the men have satisfied their appetites, the women eat the residue. Their food is served on China plates, or merely on a leaf. Water is their usual drink. Their meals are marked by a taciturnity which experiences few interruptions.

* Valentyn, V. p. 45.

They wash the hands and mouth both before and after their meals. This they always do themselves; as to have it done by another would be reckoned a disgrace. They are scrupulously nice in preserving the body and the head from all impurities, and they subject both to frequent ablutions.

The women are treated more like the vassals than the equals of the other sex. They beat the rice, go to market, and fetch the fire-wood, which they bring home upon their heads. No woman is permitted to sit down upon a stool in the presence of a man; nor can she, at the hazard of forfeiting her tongue, command any one in the king's name, which can be done only by the men. But, on the other hand, it was the privilege of the women, with respect to inheritances, to be released from several impositions which the men had to pay.

They are very much in dread of sorcery; and there are people among them, who profess to know how to impose spells which they can again remove. To these jugglers they have recourse when any thing has been stolen from them which they are anxious to recover. The Indians are much addicted to this practice; and indeed it is common in all countries, where philosophy has not diminished the darkness of ignorance or broken the wand of superstition.

Different accounts agree in representing them as healthy, and preserving their vigour and activity to a great age. They have no regular medical practitioners; and, indeed, such a profession is not likely to be much wanted amongst a people whose diet is so simple, and whose lives are so regular. They are subject to few maladies, which they cannot cure themselves by very simple means.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Different Potentates in Ceylon; Supreme Authority of the Emperor since the Time of Don John. The Emperor's Guard; his Revenues, when paid, and in what they consisted. Great Officers of State; inferior Servants. The Perils of Pre-eminence at the Court of Candy; Reflections on.

IN the more antient periods of the Singalese history, the island was under the domination of different kings or chiefs, who at times asserted an independent authority; and at others acknowledged the superior jurisdiction of an emperor. When the Portuguese first arrived in the island, they found the country divided by the influence, or disturbed by the dissensions of several minor or feudatory potentates; whilst the sovereign, who was styled emperor, as elevated above the rest, had transferred his residence to Cotta, where he exercised a nominal, rather than a real superiority. But, since the reign of Don John, who died in 1604, the sole authority of the emperor, or king of Candy, was acknowledged in all parts of Ceylon, where the European settlements had not established a separate and independent jurisdiction.

In the place of his residence the emperor had a strong guard for the protection of his person, composed of his principal servants, and a great number of soldiers under their respective chiefs. But he commonly placed more reliance on a body of Moors, who always kept watch at his chamber door. Besides these, he had many other younger guards, selected from among the bravest youths of the best families. They had long hair, went bareheaded, and usually attended him in his journeys and processions.

His revenues were considerable. Three times in a year he received the contributions of his subjects. The first was paid in March, at the commencement of the new year according to the reckoning of the Singalese; the second was collected from the first fruits of the earth; and the third took place at one of their festivals which was celebrated in November.

But, besides the more regular contributions, every one was obliged to supply gratuitously, whatever was wanting in the palace of the monarch. The nobles seized what was requisite for this purpose, wherever it was to be found; and, under this pretext, many acts of injustice were practised, and many atrocious extortions perpetrated with the awful sanction of the emperor's name.

All presents were conveyed to the emperor wrapped in white linen; and were first offered to the prince on the new year after he had washed his head, and undergone the ablution of the bath. On this occasion he was wont to exhibit himself in public to his army and his subjects, who were assembled for the purpose; when the guns were fired and great rejoicings made.

After this the nobles and people of all descriptions went to the palace with their presents, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, arms, silks, and calicoes. They at the same time made the first payment of their taxes in money, palm-wine, oil, rice, honey, wax, iron, elephants' teeth, tobacco, and other commodities, but were often obliged to wait at court a long time till their respective imposts and offerings were received, either by the king or his ministers. This was wont to produce much tumult and inconvenience.

Besides his fixed revenues, the emperor had others which were fluctuating and contingent. Where a man died who possessed cattle, he was entitled by the law of the land to an ox, a cow, and a pair of buffaloes,

which were deducted from the stock of the deceased by persons appointed for the purpose.

When the people got in their harvest, every individual reserved a certain measure of corn, or rice, as a present for the sovereign. This was indeed sometimes commuted for a sum of money; but such commutation was no longer permitted when Valentyn wrote. Besides this measure of corn, the farmers were obliged to pay a certain sum of money, from which those lands were exempt that belonged to the priests, or which had been devoted to eleemosynary purposes.

For all the imposts and oblations, which the monarch received in such various ways, he had several places of deposit in different parts of his dominions, where these various sorts of treasure were secured; but there have been exigencies in the Singalese history, when many of the jewels and valuables have been plunged into the bed of the Mahavillaganga, or thrown into the labyrinths of the forest, in order to secure them from the spoliation of an invading enemy.

Next in dignity to the emperor were two adigars, or chief judges, to whom the people might appeal when they thought themselves aggrieved by the inferior authorities. Numerous subordinate officers waited upon the adigars, who were easily distinguished by the pastoral staves, which they bore, and which were exclusively confined to their use. As much respect was shewn to these attendants of the adigar as to that officer himself.

In the scale of official dignity, the persons who came next the adigars were the dessaves, or provincial governors, who had not only to attend to the administration of justice in their several districts, but to take care that the revenue of the emperor suffered no defalcation. The dessaves were commonly selected from amongst the nobility, as the principal object of consideration in the choice was the birth of the indi-

vidual. But none of the great officers of the government had power to inflict any capital punishment without the permission of the emperor, or to pass any sentence of death without his previous approbation.

Every village was wont to have a smith, a potter, a washerman, and an artificer of every other description. Each of these persons, as well as every occupier of land, besides the regular contributions to the emperor, had certain presents to make to the dessave, who reaped considerable emolument from the gratuities of those who had any need of his favour, or any occasion for his services. The dessaves indeed were usually incited to practise a good deal of extortion towards their inferiors, in order to satisfy the annual claims of the monarch upon the liberality of their contributions, without which his royal protection and regard could not readily be preserved.

As the dessaves were compelled to pass most of their time in servile attendance upon the court, they were under the necessity of appointing sub-dessaves, to whom they entrusted the administration of their provinces, and the care of their affairs. These sub-dessaves were denominated Coorli Vidanis, besides whom there were some other subordinate officers, called Congconnas, whose duty it was to attend to the coorli vidanis, and to give an account of the same to the dessave.

The coorli achila executed the orders of the coorli vidani, and undertook to provide all kinds of fruit for the emperor's table, besides superintending the different messengers to the court.

There was also in each province a liannah, or chief writer, who read, preserved, and executed all the correspondence relative to the government, and kept a register of every thing that was sent to the court.

There was an officer named Undia, who collected the emperor's

money, and brought it together in a mass; and another called Monanhah, who measured all the corn that grew on his domain.

The villages which were appropriated to the pagodas and the clergy, were not subject to the authority of the dessave: nor were those villages which the emperor had bestowed upon his courtiers and favourites. Such lands were placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the proprietors.

These persons, who were placed in situations of the greatest power and highest trust under the emperor, were usually in a less enviable situation than any other individuals in his dominions, as their lives were perpetually dependent on the capriciousness of a tyrant, whose suspicions or dislike they were more liable to excite, in proportion to their proximity to his person, or to the degree of their fancied elevation. Short was the interval between a sensation of displeasure in the royal bosom, and the destruction of his creatures or his favourites. But, though the posts of pre-eminence and distinction at the court of Candy were precipices of such perilous hazard and insecurity, yet we learn from Knox and other authorities, that they were not, on that account, less the object of eager desire and ambitious competition. The volatile cruelty of the tyrant had no sooner plunged one victim into the gulph below, than numbers were found ready to supply his place, and to take their station on the same giddy height, though they had no better chance of escaping the same abyss. In the lottery of ambition, as well as in other lotteries, whatever may be the preponderance of blanks, every individual flatters himself that he is more exclusively favoured by Fortune; and that chances, upon which he would think it folly in another to build one pleasurable hope, are a solid ground-work of confidence to himself. Such is the care which is exhibited in the moral administration of the world to prevent individuals from looking too much on the dark side of human affairs; or to have the spirit of enterprize rendered torpid, and their active powers paralyzed by gloomy calculations on the evils of life, and the contingencies of misfortune.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Laws of the Singalese. Form of Ordeal in doubtful Cases. Oaths. Modes of detecting Thefts; of forcing the Payment of Fines and Debts.

THE Singalese have certain established *national laws, or old customs, according to which most things are determined, where the will of the king does not interpose to make any alteration. The children inherit the landed property, which does not descend exclusively to the eldest son; but where the right of primogeniture is allowed, the individual is obliged to support the mother and children. All debts are doubled in the course of two years; and he, who has no means of paying them, passes into slavery with his wife and children. No man may marry a woman, who has run away from her husband, before the husband has married another woman. The children of a free man, by a mother who is a slave, are born slaves; but, on the other hand, the children of a slave by a free woman are free; so that the civil condition of the mother commonly determines that of the progeny. A thief, who cannot make a seven-fold restitution, becomes a slave. Old people, who run in debt, barter their children for the amount, or pawn them as a security for the payment.

In ambiguous questions both parties must take an oath in the temple before the images of their gods. This oath is accompanied with the most imposing solemnities; and the form of ministration in boiling oil, and burning cow-dung, is such as may appal even those who are supported by the consciousness of innocence.—Before the oath is taken,

* Valentyn, 48.

a permission* from the magistrate must be obtained. Both parties, after washing their heads and bodies, are shut up together for the night, and rigidly watched. Each of them has a cloth bound round his right hand, which is sealed, in order that no sorcery or other means may be employed to deaden the sensibility of the parts to the action of the fire. On the morning of the solemnity, after arraying themselves in their best attire, the parties, having the written permission of the magistrate fastened on their wrists, repair to a place under the Boghahah or god-tree, where the boiling oil and burning cow-dung are placed for the occasion. Here both the plaintiff and the defendant, in the presence of thousands of spectators, invoke the God of Heaven to witness their innocence. The cloths with which their hands were enveloped are now unloosed; when two of the fingers of each are dipped three times successively into the boiling oil and the burning cow-dung. After this part of the ceremony has been performed, the hands are bound with the same cloths as before, and the parties watched till the following day. The bandages are then removed, and the ends of the fingers examined, in order to see if the skin has been taken off. If that has been the case, the guilt of the person is thought to be established; and he is accordingly condemned to pay a heavy fine to the emperor. It is not said what expedient is employed to determine the question in dispute, when the fingers of both the parties have been alike flayed and blistered by the boiling oil. This of course would usually happen; but the priests probably have some secret means of protecting the individual whom they wish to favour; and thus, at the same time, of preserving the high authority of the ordeal in the estimation of the multitude.

On more common occasions, when they wish to confirm any assertion by an oath, they swear by the eyes of their mother, of their children, or by their own eyes; but little dependance is to be placed on these modes of adjuration; and, as I have intimated in another place, truth is

* Valentyn, V. p. 408.

not one of the virtues which occupies a distinguished rank in the moral code of the Singalese.

When any theft has been committed, the Singalese are wont to detect the thief by the following mode of sorcery:—They mutter some magical words over a cocoa-nut, which is held in the hand by the stalk, and placed at the gate, or opening where the robber made his escape. After the cocoa-nut has been thus enchanted, it is said to follow the track of the thief till it reaches his person, or arrives at his house. By this means numerous impositions are practised upon the simple, and various false accusations urged, where any ill-will is felt, or any pique is to be gratified.

Those who violate the laws are liable to be punished by fine or imprisonment. If the fine be not immediately paid, the individual is deprived of his sword, knife, cap, and doublet, and kept in confinement. If the payment is still deferred, he is condemned to carry a heavy stone upon his back, till it is discharged. Besides these, other expedients are employed to force the payment of a debt; of which that is not one of the least efficacious, in which the creditor threatens to destroy himself, and to load the soul of the debtor with the guilt of his death.

CHAP. XL.

The Malabars and Bedas.

WHEN Valentyn wrote his Description of Ceylon, the Malabars* were

* The Malabars speak a language which is totally different from that of the Singalese. The language of the Singalese is represented as very copious, particularly in the vocabulary of compliment. Thus it is said, that they can address the same individual by ten or twelve different titles, according to his rank or circumstances. They have seven or eight different ways of saying you or thou, each of which has a certain appropriation to the rank or condition of the person addressed. To the king or emperor, they used to give the title of Dionanxi, which is more exalted than that of God. Raja Singa permitted himself to be addressed by this title before the insurrection of his subjects, which is related above; but he forbad the use of it after that event. When they have occasion to speak of themselves before a chief or great man, they do not say I in the first person, but commonly give themselves the appellation of dog, and do not reserve for their family or relatives a more respectful name. "The Moors," says Thunberg, (Vol. IV. p. 188,) "who come hither from the coasts of the continent, are tolerably numerous in Columbo, and carry on an extensive trade. They are, for the most part, tall of stature, darker than the islanders, and well clad. Their dress resembles nearly a lady's gown, is most frequently made of white callico, very wide, and gathered up at the waist, and is bound round the body with a girdle of white cotton, tied on the right side. On the head they wear a turban. Their ears are commonly decorated with long ear-rings of gold, of various patterns, some being plain, others twisted, others set with precious stones of a red, blue, or green colour. Some are very large, being a full finger in length, others again are smaller. Sometimes one of these only is worn in the ear, sometimes more, even five or six together; so that with their weight, the foramen and tip of the ear are lengthened amazingly, insomuch that the ear reaches down to the shoulders. As soon as the children are three years old, one of these ear-rings is given them by way of ornament. It is properly the rich, who wear a number of rings in their ears; so that from the condition, size, and number of the ear-rings, one may form an estimate of the wealth and opulence of the wearers. Persons of rank among the Singalese, such as ambassadors and officers belonging to the court in Candy, wear long gold chains about their necks, which hang down upon the breast and stomach: such had the ambassadors who came to Columbo, and similar ones are given to the Dutch ambassador and his secretary, by the king, on their arrival at Candy. The chains do not consist of links, but of globules, which are hollow within, and pierced through in every part of their surfaces, and woven round with gold wire, like fillagree work. These balls are afterwards strung, either upon a silken cord or golden wire, to any length that is desired."

under the government of an independent prince, who was neither subject to the Dutch nor to the King of Candy, though he made the former an annual present of a few elephants. His subjects were held in as low a state of vassalage as those of the King of Candy, and were even oppressed by heavier imposts; but the sovereign of the Malabars paid his soldiers, whilst the King of Candy forced his troops to serve at their own cost. The Malabars, besides their dispersion over different parts of the island, possessed a small district in the vicinity of Jaffnapatam in the north. The products of their country are elephants, cattle, deer, wax, honey, milk and butter, a little rice, but no cotton: but they annually bartered large droves of cattle for bales of linen, which they carried to Nevecalava, where they procured a supply of cotton and rice, with which they returned home. Valentyn praises their manufacture of cotton, as superior to that of the Singalese. In this traffic with the Dutch they furnished themselves with salt, salt fish, copper vessels, and other commodities, of which they again disposed for other goods amongst the Singalese, who had no dealings with the Dutch.

Some of the Singalese, who are said to be the oldest inhabitants of the island, are named Bedas or Wedas. They dwell principally in the woods, in the northern and north-eastern parts of the island. Valentyn describes them of a black hue, with fiery eyes, of moderate stature, but well made and full of activity. They speak the same language as the rest of the Singalese, and subsist on venison, without rice, or any food but that which they procure by the chace. They have houses* and villages; but their ordinary abode is under the shade of a tree, or a bower made of some of the branches, by the margin of a river or a lake. They do not shave their heads, but tie up their hair in a large bunch, and let it hang in this manner from their shoulders. Some of them are much less civilized than others. Each individual has a peculiar allotment of ground, and his prescribed limits, within which they are very careful

* Valentyn, p. 50.

not to offer any violence to one another, as the offender would be put to death.

They preserve the venison, which they do not want for immediate consumption, in places of deposit, which they make in the trunks of trees, and then cover the opening with honey. When they marry their daughter, the portion which they give consists of some dogs fitted for the chase, in which the women also engage as well as the men. They appear to have been established here long before the time of the first King of Ceylon, and to have been subject to a queen, who, like another Medea, was skilled in magic arts.

CHAP. XLI.

Natural Products. Rice; the Tallipot Tree; the Cocoa Nut; the Kettule; the Cinnamon; the Areca, Bread Fruit, Banyan, Ficus Religiosa, Tulip, Tamarind, Teak Trees; Calaminder and Cadumberi; Oranges, Shadocks, Guava, Papai, Pomegranates, Plantains, Limes, Pine Apples, Custard Apples, Bullock's Heart.

I SHALL say a few words of some of the natural products of the country. Rice here constitutes the principal object of culture, for the purposes of human subsistence, as it is all over the East. No wheat is yet produced in the island, though it is probable that attempts will ere long be made to introduce that species of grain. The rice is of several kinds, one of which comes to maturity in six or seven, and the others ripen in three, four, or five months. But all the sorts are mentioned by Valentyn, as bearing the same price. The best tasted is that which is first ripe, and of this they have the least. They commonly sow the seed in July or August, after they have ploughed their lands with oxen. These oxen they employ afterwards to thresh or tread out the corn. Previously to the commencement of this operation, the women carry a bundle of rice upon their heads three times round the threshing floor, and afterwards perform some other mysterious rites, for which they are allowed to take away as much of the grain as they can lay on the magical stone which they carry to the spot.

Amongst their most remarkable trees is that called the tallipot, which is particularly straight, and shoots up to the height and the dimen-

sion of the mast of a large ship. It bears fruit only once during its existence, but its leaves are of great use in various respects.*

The circumference of this leaf is such, that it is large enough to preserve from six to a dozen persons † together from being wet in a pouring rain. When it is dried, it is very tough; but at the same time so supple and flexible, that notwithstanding its spacious dimensions, it may be folded up like a fan; and though it is as thick as a man's arm, it is so light, that a person may carry it a great way without fatigue. In its full expanse it displays a circular appearance; but, when cut in pieces, it has a triangular form. When a man lays it on his head in a journey, with the points projecting outwards, it serves to protect him through the bushes and thorns; whilst, in other situations, it assists in shading him from the scorching rays of the sun, and serves as a cover from the violence of a drenching storm.

The tallipot tree bears no blossoms till the last year of its growth, when some beautiful yellow flowers, of a strong but oppressive smell, appear on the wide-spreading branches of the top. These flowers are succeeded by a fruit as big as a large cherry, but which is used for no other purpose than as seed for the propagation of the trees.

Of that wonderful luxuriance with which Nature provides for the per-

* Thunberg says, in his Travels, Vol. IV. p. 253. "One of these leaves cut off about five feet in length, and of almost the same in breadth, decorated with various elegant embellishments, bears like the tree itself the name of tallipot, and is carried over the heads of people of distinction, both Indians and Europeans, by a slave, instead of the common parasols and parapluyes. One single leaf is generally large enough to shelter six persons from the rain. This beautiful palm tree grows in the heart of the forests, but is scarce. It may be classed among the loftiest trees, and becomes still higher when on the point of bursting forth into blossom from its leafy summit. The sheath, which then invelops the flower, is very large, and when it bursts, makes an explosion like the report of a cannon; after which, it shoots forth branches on every side, to the surprising height of thirty-six or forty feet."

† Valentyn says fourteen or fifteen; Thunberg six.

petuation of all her products, the tallipot tree furnishes a singular example; for, though it bears fruit only in the year in which it dies, it then bears enough to cover a whole province with its progeny.

When this tree is cut down for the sake of the seed, the pith yields a sort of meal, of which the natives make a cake, which tastes something like the finest bread. It serves as an occasional substitute for rice. They also write with an iron style upon the leaves, which they make up into books.*

The cocoa-nut tree is found in almost every part of the island in the vicinity of the coast, where it flourishes more than in the interior pro-

* "Both on the coast of the continent of Asia, and the Island of Ceylon," says Thunberg, Vol. IV. p. 250, "the leaves of the borassus palm tree (borassus flabelliformis) and sometimes of the tallipot tree (licuala spinosa), are used instead of paper, which the Indians do not prepare from the bark of a tree, as their neighbours more to the eastward do. The leaves of both these palm trees lie in folds like a fan, and the slips stand in need of no other preparation than merely to be separated and cut smooth and even with a knife. Their mode of writing upon them consists in carving the letters with a fine pointed style (stylus): and, in order that the characters may be the better seen and read, they rub them over with charcoal, or some other black substance, so that the letters have altogether the appearance of being engraved. The iron point, made use of on these occasions, is either set in a brass handle, which the Moors and others carry about them in a wooden case, and which is sometimes six inches in length; or else it is formed entirely of iron, and, together with the blade of a knife, designed for the purpose of cutting the leaves, and making them even, set in a knife-handle common to them both, into which handle it shuts up, so that it may be carried by the owner about with him, and be always ready at hand. On such slips are all letters, all edicts of governors, &c. written, and sent round open and unsealed. When a single slip is not sufficient, several are bound together, by means of a hole made at one end, and a thread on which they are strung. If a book is to be made, either for the use of the churches, or any other purpose, they look out principally for broad and handsome slips of tallipot leaves, upon which they engrave the characters very elegantly and accurately, with the addition of various figures delineated upon them by way of ornament. All the slips have then two holes made in them, and are strung upon an elegantly-twisted silken cord, and covered with two thin lacquered wooden boards. By means of the cords the leaves are held even together, and by being drawn out, when they are wanted to be used, they may be separated from each other at pleasure." Thus far Thunberg.—Valentyn says, that the few books which the Singalese possess are written on leaves, in the manner abovementioned, and treat principally of religion and the healing art; but in a language elevated above the common idiom. See Valentyn, Vol. V. p. 48.

vinces. With a trunk not more than a foot in diameter, it shoots up to the height of from seventy to eighty feet. There are no boughs or leaves, except at the top, where they expand like rays from a centre, and cover the head of the trunk with a circle of shade. The leaves, which are about twelve in number, are pinnated, twelve feet long, and from three to four broad. Of these leaves some are manufactured into mats, and others are used as brooms. The nuts are produced in clusters at the top of the tree, to the number of two or three dozen. They are covered with a thick tissue of fibres, which are manufactured into ropes and cables, and are, in some respects, preferable to those made of hemp. "The juice which is pressed from the kernel of the nut, after it is grated, is a principal ingredient in malakatanni, and all the Singalese curries; and the refuse, or dry substance, which remains, affords excellent food for poultry and hogs."* An oil is also expressed from the kernel, which is generally employed in the lamps of the East. The same oil is also used as an unguent, and a substitute for butter. At the top of the tree there is a shoot of about two feet in length and eight inches in diameter, which passes under the name of cocoa-nut cabbage, and furnishes a luxuriant vegetable. But as the tree dies when this shoot is destroyed, it is suffered to remain till it is deemed expedient to cut down the stem on which it grows. A fluid called palm wine exudes after incision from the buds at the top of the tree. This forms a cooling and a wholesome beverage, if drunk before fermentation, which exposure to the heat of the sun produces. When fermented, it acquires an intoxicating quality. The filaments at the bottom of the stem may be manufactured into a coarse cloth called gunny, which is used for bags and similar purposes. The leaves also supply a most grateful food to the elephant when they are fresh, and when they are dry they may be burned instead of a torch.

The kettule tree grows very straight, but not so tall as the cocoa-nut. It contains a pith like the tallipot tree, which yields an uncommonly

* Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 351.

sweet sap,* of very pleasant taste, and very wholesome qualities. A tree of the ordinary size will give out several quarts in a day. From this juice, after boiling, they prepare a brown sugar, and sometimes, when they employ particular care in the process, one that is not inferior to white. The leaves of this species of palm resemble those of the areca, and are attached to a strong skin, which is as hard as a board, but full of fibres. These they employ as thread, and make into cordage. The leaves keep falling off as long as the tree continues to grow, but when it has attained its full growth, they adhere for many years to the stem, and no fresh ones are produced. When the buds on the top become ripe and wither away, they are annually succeeded by others, which keep continually growing lower and lower down the branches till they reach the stem. The tree is then worn out; but, nevertheless, it will still remain for eight or ten years before it dies.

But the glory of Ceylon, the richest of its products, and staple of its commerce is, the cinnamon tree. The Singalese give it the name of Curundo-gas, and they denominate the cinnamon itself Curundo Potto.

The cinnamon tree sometimes grows to a considerable size. In an uncultivated state it is found from twenty to thirty feet in height. The trunk throws out numerous horizontal branches, which are covered with a thick foliage. The leaf resembles that of the laurel in thickness of tissue and in the colour of the surface: but, whilst the laurel-leaf has only one long vein in the middle, that of the cinnamon is distinguished by three principal fibres, which interrupt the green smoothness of the leaf. When the young leaves first make their appearance, they are as red as scarlet; and Valentyn says, that when rubbed to pieces in the hand, they smell much more like cloves than like cinnamon. The flowers, which are white, hang in clusters, and resemble those of the

* Valentyn, V. p. 50.

lilac. The fruit, which becomes ripe in April, has the form of an acorn, without any taste or smell, like the bark, and when removed from its socket its shape is like that of an olive, but it is not larger than a black currant. When this fruit is boiled it yields a fine oil, which congeals when cold into a substance like wax or spermaceti. Valentyn says, that it forms a very wholesome salve for pains and infirmities of the limbs. It may be either burned in a lamp or made into candles; but it was not employed for these purposes except by the King of Candy.

The cinnamon tree is indigenous to the island, where it grows wild like other native plants. According to Valentyn, it is chiefly found to the west of the river Mahavilla-ganga; but the growth seems principally confined to the south-west angle, formed by the sea-coast from Negumbo* to Matura. None is found in the province of Jaffnapatam, nor in the Island of Manaar; but the interior of the dominions belonging to the late King of Candy has not yet been sufficiently explored to establish the precise boundary which is auspicious to the growth. The bark of the tree is formed of two coats, or layers, of which the interior constitutes the true cinnamon. The outer and the inner bark used to be separated from each other by a nice operation of the knife whilst on the tree; but, at present, it seems that the two coats are not separated till they are removed from the trunk. The bark, after it is peeled off, is laid in the sun to dry, when it curls up into rolls as we commonly see it. The tree dies after it has been thus stripped of its bark. The wood, which is white and soft, almost like that of the fir, burns without yielding any perfume; but the islanders use it in the structure of their houses, and in some articles of cabinet work. The root, when macerated in water, imparts a smell of camphor; and camphor of a very strong kind may be extracted from the root.

* Valentyn says, V. p. 231, 232, that the best and finest cinnamon grows in the district of Negumbo or the Seven Corles.

The finest cinnamon is that which is peeled from the young and smaller trees. A more coarse sort is derived from the trees which are of larger dimensions and greater age: and there is a third kind, which goes by the name of the wood, or wild cinnamon, which is found on the coast of Malabar and in other places; but Ceylon alone seems the region which Providence has allotted for the production of this delicious aromatic in its highest purity and perfection. The soil and the climate are there happily adapted to its growth; and the artificial cultivation of any natural product will seldom be of much avail where these two great requisites, of appropriate soil and genial climate, are not to be found. The soil, indeed, may be meliorated or changed by industry and skill; but the influence of climate is less under the control of man.*

Amongst the trees which abound in Ceylon, and which are remarkable for their beautiful appearance, their stately growth, or their useful qualities, may be reckoned, in addition to those abovementioned, the

* The Europeans long believed, and the Singalese maintained, that no cinnamon could be good but what grew wild; and that the properties of the plant were impaired by artificial cultivation. The Dutch governor, Jman William Falck, made the first attempt to rear a plantation of cinnamon. This first attempt was rendered abortive by the hostility of the chalias, or cinnamon peelers, who feared that it might hurt their trade, and who accordingly poured hot water at night upon the plants. But this stratagem was detected; and Governor Falck was afterwards more successful in the horticulture of cinnamon. In its wild state, the propagation of the plant is effected by means of birds, who eat the soft berries, the kernels of which will not dissolve in their gizzards, and are consequently dispersed in the woods. See Thunberg, IV. p. 182, &c. Thunberg says, that the superfine cinnamon ought to be about the substance of royal paper, or a little thicker, of a light colour, making nearer approaches to yellow than to brown, with a sweetish taste, but not very pungent or hot upon the tongue. The chalias, or cinnamon peelers, who are mentioned above, constitute a distinct cast. Valentyn says, that they were despised by the natives; and they appear to have been oppressed by the Dutch. During the harvest, each of the chalias was obliged to procure two bars of peeled cinnamon, each bar consisting of 480 pounds. He received no compensation for one of the bars, and only $1\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollar for the other. When the bundles or sacks of cinnamon are stowed on board the ships, black pepper is strewed over each layer of bundles, so as to fill up all the interstices. The pepper is said to improve the quality of the cinnamon by attracting the humidity, whilst it is itself improved by the contiguity of its associated aromatic.

areca; the jack, or bread-fruit tree;* the banyan, or Indian fig; the ficus religiosa bogaha, or god tree; the portia, or tulip tree; the tamarind; and the teak. The beauty of these and other trees, as far as it depends upon the foliage, is not occasional or evanescent, for it preserves its green as long as the plant retains its life.

Knox has described the bogaha, or god tree, and Valentyn has done little more than give a Dutch version of his account. This tree, which has sometimes been confounded with the banyan, or Indian fig, appears from very ancient times to have been an object of religious veneration amongst the Singalese. Its long, broad, and beautiful leaves, which are in the shape of a heart, are reported often to have furnished a cooling shade and soft repose to the divine Boodh when he was at liberty to relax from the devout labours of his mission. Hence tradition has consecrated it to his memory; and so holy is it esteemed, that the form of its leaves was not permitted to be painted on any article of furniture but what was designed for the palace of the king.

* There are two sorts of trees which produce the bread fruit; one of which yields a smaller fruit without seed, whilst the fruit of the other is larger, of more general growth, and in higher repute. The fruit of the smaller sort is about the size of a child's head; but that of the larger "weighs from thirty to forty pounds, and contains from two to three hundred kernels, each of them four times the size of an almond. The fruits are all over prickles, with a thick and soft rind: the internal part of the fruit only is used for food by the human race, and the rind is left for the hogs." The larger sort of bread fruit, which is almost universally used in Ceylon, is called by three different names according to the periods of its growth. "It is called pollos, when it has attained to the size of an ostrich's egg, and is a month or six weeks old; herreli, when it is half ripe, and of the size of a cocoa-nut; the pulpy esculent part is then still of a white and milky cast. At both these ages the fruit cannot be eaten without previous preparation. When it is perfectly ripe, it is called warreka; the pulpy part is then fit for use, and that which environs the seed has a sweetish taste, is yellow, and, without any preparation, both eatable and relishing."—"The seeds may be eaten either alone, like chesnuts, or together, with the pulpy part of the fruit itself, prepared in different ways: they are used for food, both boiled and roasted; the poorer sort generally boil and eat them with the scrapings of cocoa-nut and salt;" and the rich employ them in fattening pigs, geese, and other fowls. Thunberg describes the mode of preparing fifteen different dishes from the fruit of this beneficent tree." See his Travels, Vol. IV. p. 256—261.

The trees in the island, of which the wood is fit for a variety of mechanical and domestic uses, are very numerous. Mr. Cordiner mentions that specimens of these had been collected and sent to England. " The most valuable and beautiful," says Mr. Cordiner,* " is calaminder, which is extremely hard, of a dark chocolate colour, clouded like marble, streaked with veins of black and pale yellow, and receives a very high polish. Codumberi considerably resembles it, but is of lighter colour, and inferior beauty. Other species of ebony, satin, and nindoo wood, are very common."

Fruits and vegetables for culinary purposes are found in great exuberance and variety. There are two crops of oranges in the year, which are said to be extremely delicious for two months in each season. They do not acquire a yellow colour, except in a state of decay, but are green when perfectly ripe; and those of the best quality exhibit a russet tint. The pumple-nose, or shadock, which grows to the size of a man's head, abounds with juice of the most refreshing and agreeable kind. To these we may add the guava, papai, pomegranate, plantain, mango, limes, pine-apples,† custard-apples, the pulp of which has the taste and consistence of boiled custard; the bullock's heart, a fruit resembling the custard-apple, but of a different shape and colour; the billimbing, which has a strong acid taste, and is employed in tarts and preserves; with others of different kinds, and a diversity of vegetable products for domestic use.

* Vol. I. p. 381.

† " Pine-apples grow in greater plenty, and of a larger size, but not of so high a flavour as those of Hindoostan, where the degree of heat is greater, and the quantity of rain less. They are raised without any culture, farther than sticking the plants in the ground, and are sold in many places, at as low a rate as a penny a-piece. Their highest price does not exceed sixpence." Cordiner.

CHAP. XLII.

Elephants, Hunt of; Mode of ensnaring and taming.

AMONGST the different species of animals which this highly-favoured island exhibits, the elephant is that for which it has been celebrated from the most ancient times, and for which it is still renowned. The earliest writers, who seem not to have known Ceylon as the native region of cinnamon, mention it as famous for its breed of elephants and its export of ivory.

These elephants, which may be reckoned the gigantic aborigines of the island, are the largest, as well as the most sagacious and docile, which are found in all India. Some of those, which are spotted over the whole body, are said by Valentyn to have been particularly reserved for the use of the King of Candy, and to have been more prized by him than the elephants which had not such discriminating marks.

These noble animals, which are found in all the forests in Ceylon, usually go in droves; and many a traveller is said to have been trodden to death, who could not escape from their line of march. When they break into the cultivated country, they often occasion great loss to the inhabitants, by the injury which they do to their rice-fields, their plantations, and gardens.

Various accounts of the mode of entrapping elephants in Ceylon may be read in Baldeus, Thunberg, and other writers. One of the best descriptions of this interesting scene in any recent authority, is to be found

in the first volume of Mr. Cordiner's publication. The great object of this mighty chase is to drive as many elephants as possible into a large triangular enclosure, formed of huge upright and transverse beams of the strongest timber, and purposely contrived to ensnare these noble animals. This enclosure, which is very * wide at the commencement, is gradually contracted till it terminates in a sort of funnel, or narrow passage, about five feet broad and one hundred feet long. The elephants are gradually impelled into this snare from the distance of thirty or forty miles, by thousands of hunters, alarming them with drums, shouts, fire-arms, flambeaus, and a variety of combustibles, sometimes uniting in an immense continuity of flame. Intimidated by these means, these enormous animals are, by slow degrees, and after the labour of many days, forced into the toil in which they are made prisoners, till they are at last subjected to the use of man.

The discharging passage, or the funnel of the snare, is not wide enough to admit more than one elephant abreast. As the mighty captive arrives at this point of his destination, " cross bars are shoved in behind him through the interstices of the stakes, and lashed down with ropes to the transverse beams, so that he can neither move forwards, nor backwards, nor sideways. His confinement is thus limited in order to contract the powers of his prodigious strength, and to allow the men to approach near enough to bind his legs, without being exposed to danger. The elephants which follow are separated from one another in the passage, and made close prisoners in the same manner."— " When the wild elephant is completely harnessed, two tame elephants trained to the business are brought to the gate and placed one on each side of it. These immediately survey the prisoner whom they have to conduct, feel his mouth to know whether or not he has tusks, and lay hold of his proboscis to know what degree of resistance he is likely to make. Ropes are passed through the collar of the wild elephant, and made fast

* Valentyn says four miles, and his miles are German measure.

to similar collars of each of the tame ones. The bars of the gate are then unclosed and drawn out; and the wild captive darts forward directly between the two tame elephants: he can, however, only advance a little way, as the ropes securing his hind legs still continue fastened to the strongest stakes of the toil. In this situation he remains until the riders mounted on the tame elephants have drawn tight the cords which bind him to the necks of his half-reasoning conductors. During this operation he endeavours to undo with his trunk some of the knots which have been made, and often attempts to give a destructive blow to the diminutive creatures so actively engaged in confirming his captivity. But the two tame animals, who are vigilantly observant of all his motions, never fail to prevent him from doing any mischief by gently lowering his proboscis with their own: and, if he continue long refractory, they batter him with their heads, and at last produce the most obsequious submission. The nooses of the ropes are then opened, leaving his hind legs at freedom, and himself entirely disengaged from the snare. The two tame elephants press close on each side of him, and proceed in pompous procession to the garden of stalls, where they deliver up their charge, to experience another species of hardship. The marching off of this venerable trio is a sight truly magnificent, and exhibits a noble specimen of the skill of man united with the sagacity of the elephant. At the commencement of the march, the keepers strike up a rustic song, something like whistling to oxen in the plough, which adds considerable effect to the striking scene. They are seated on the necks of the tame elephants, holding short inverted spear-hooks, struck perpendicularly into their collars. When they wish to turn them, they catch one of their ears with this instrument, and, by pressing it into their skin, make them move in any direction that is required. It is likewise highly gratifying to accompany them to the grove, and to observe with what expertness and ease they are securely bound in the most superb of all stables. Making him fast there is an operation as tedious as putting on his harness before he quits the toil. While that is doing, the tame elephants

continue close on each side of him, and act their part with so much judgment, that their savage brother exhibits all the gentleness of a lamb."

When the tame elephants are removed from the custody of their wild companion, who is left alone secured in the stall that had been prepared for his reception, he usually makes the most desperate efforts to escape from the yoke of slavery. Whilst he was soothed by the presence of his tame associates, he preserved a tolerable degree of tranquillity and composure; but, on their departure, the horrors of solitude and the regrets of liberty seem to overwhelm his feelings; and he rages to break his bonds in all the violence of despair. The effort is so great that it often terminates his life. But, when the first orgasm of grief and rage has subsided, the surviving captive gradually becomes more calm, till the feeling of hunger induces him to eat some of his favourite leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, which are offered for his gratification.

The treatment, which is adopted in subjugating the wild elephant, varies a little in the means of security and precaution which are used, according to the size, strength, and ferocity of the animal. But there seems no necessity in a work of this nature to try the attention of the reader by more circumstantial particulars or more minute details.

CHAP. XLIII.

Wild and Tame Animals; Tigers, Wild Boars, Porcupines, Oxen, Sheep, Horses, Birds.

AMONG some of the other wild animals of Ceylon, we find tigers, bears, buffaloes, elks, deer, hares, civet cats, jackals, and monkies of various kinds.

The tiger is not of that large species, which is denominated royal, nor is this animal so tremendous or destructive here, as in other parts of the East. The Ceylonese tiger seldom ventures to attack a man. The woods are infested by wild boars, of considerable strength and ferocity, who boldly rush upon the traveller that comes in their way. Porcupines are also common in the forests, and are hunted by dogs, who are sometimes killed by their sharp quills, when they are too impetuous in the chace.

Deer are found in great numbers, and of different kinds and sizes, and there is one species which is not larger than a common hare. Mr. Cordiner says, "That it is very beautifully made, and as perfect in form as any deer in the world; nor is it less common in Ceylon, than hares in Great Britain. The natives bring these deer alive in cages to Columbo, where one may be purchased for two shillings." It is reckoned wholesome food.

The native Singalese kill no cows nor oxen for their own consumption, and when the wants of the British troops happen to be more than the

island can supply, they are imported from the coast of Coromandel. The ox of the island is of a small size, and has a hump upon the shoulders.* They are employed in the plough, for drawing loads, and for the various kinds of military transport. The country, from some unknown cause, does not seem auspicious to the general health, either of the ox or the buffalo; for we are informed that an epidemic distemper occasionally destroys half the stock of these useful animals in the space of a few months.

There appears to be a plentiful supply of pork, which is a favourite article of food with the settlers of Dutch and Portuguese origin, but the English inhabitants are said to be more fastidious with respect to this species of animal food, and not to admit it to their tables without some previous assurance of the manner in which it has been fed.

Ceylon does not possess any native breed either of sheep or horses, but sheep † are said to thrive in the province of Jaffnapatam. No horses are used for agricultural purposes, or drawing burthens. The expense which attends their maintenance in the island limits them to the use of a few of the more wealthy Europeans.‡

* Mr. Percival says, that " The oxen of Ceylon are remarkably small, and in size scarcely exceed our calves of a year old. They are as inferior in quality as in size to the cattle of Bengal and the Coromandel coast, and are to be had for about one pound five shillings sterling. The beef is sometimes however fat, and tolerably good, and forms the chief food of the European soldiers stationed on the island." Percival's Account of Ceylon, p. 285.—Mr. Cordiner says, " Beef is sold at the rate of fourpence per pound." Vol. I. p. 425.

† " The common price of a sheep at Columbo (in 1804) was one pound twelve shillings. At the same time, one could have been purchased at Jaffnapatam for one shilling." Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 426.

‡ " A small horse, of good qualities, cannot be bought under sixty pounds sterling, and a fine Arab costs at least one hundred and twenty." Cordiner.—" Two attendants are constantly attached to each horse; one of them is employed in cutting and fetching him as much grass as he requires to eat, while the other takes care of him, cleans him, feeds him, and makes him ready for his master to mount. The last attendant never quits his horse, but follows him wherever he goes, and is ready on all occasions to take charge of him. Ihave seen some of these horse keepers, as they are called,

The feathered natives of Ceylon are more numerous than the quadrupeds. Amongst these I shall simply name the peacock, the pea-fowl, common fowl, the kite, the owl, the goose, the heron, wild and tame ducks, partridges, pidgeons, various kinds of parrots, plovers, bats, vultures, wood-peckers, sparrows, snipes, swallows, fly-catchers, with thousands of crows.‡ The island is at the same time not deficient in birds that warble their native wood notes wild.

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keep up to my horse for twenty or thirty miles together, whilst I was proceeding at the rate of five or six miles an hour." Percival, p. 284.

* The inhabitants of Ceylon appear to understand the utility of this bird better than many of our English farmers, who persecute them with unrelenting vengeance, as a thievish race and incorrigible ravagers of the grain in a new-sown field. But in Ceylon, these same feathered marauders are found extremely useful to the settlements, in removing bones, dead insects, and all sorts of putrid substances. They are accordingly never molested, either by natives or by foreigners.

CHAP. XLIV.

Snakes; instinctive Hostility of the Ichneumon. Anecdote. Alligators. Scorpions. Leeches. Ants.

SNAKES are found in great numbers. Mr. Cordiner mentions only two species which are poisonous, but other travellers make them more numerous. The former gentleman says, that during the five years in which he resided in the country, he never heard of any individual who had suffered from the bite of these venomous reptiles. Against the multitude of snakes to which the Singalese are exposed, they have a powerful auxiliary in the ichneumon, which is said to wage a perpetual war upon the whole serpent race. Though a small animal it will venture to attack even the cobra di capello, the poison of whose bite is hardly equalled in danger by that of any other snake. It is confidently asserted, but does not appear to have been correctly ascertained, that the ichneumon is acquainted with some vegetable antidote to the poison of the cobra di capello, and other snakes; and that after being bitten it has immediate recourse to this salutary herb. Mr. Percival mentions an experiment, made at Columbo, in which an ichneumon was placed in a close room, where a snake had been previously introduced. The ichneumon, instead of darting upon the snake, ran peeping about the apartment, in order to discover some means of escape. "On finding none he returned hastily to his master, and placing himself in his bosom, could not by any means be induced to quit it or face the snake." But, when both were removed out of the house to a more open space, the ichneumon instantly flew at his antagonist, whom he soon destroyed. Mr. Percival adds, that, after this achievement, the ichneumon "suddenly disappeared for a few minutes, and

again returned as soon as he had found the herb and eat of it." But as Mr. Percival did not witness the latter fact, what he says is only gratuitous supposition.

All the Ceylonese rivers are infested by alligators. One of these, of the largest size, was killed and conveyed to Columbo, when the stomach, on being opened, exhibited, according to Mr. Percival, "the head and arm of a black man not completely digested."

Thunberg says, that scorpions are found in great numbers, though they are seldom productive of injury. When it rains, these animals, as well as the scolopendra morsitans, issue from their places of concealment, "and creep in shoals into those houses, the doors of which are left open on account of the heat."

Leeches swarm in particular situations, where they are found very vexatious to the traveller on his way, or to troops on their march. They are of a reddish brown colour, about the thickness of a knitting-needle, and an inch in length. They fasten on the feet, "and can suck out the blood through two pair of cotton stockings."

In this, as in other hot countries, the inhabitants suffer more real and habitual inconvenience from the smaller insects than from the larger reptiles or quadrupeds. The ants, which swarm in the earth, and from their countless myriads seem to breed in the air, are a particular source of vexation and distress. Mr. Cordiner says, that "many millions of the common red ant inhabit every house in Ceylon. They lodge within the walls, and are seen in every corner where any species of food is to be procured. If a bit of sugar, or any other eatable article, is dropped on the floor, it is almost instantly covered with them." Every species of food must be secured with the nicest precaution from the attacks of this domestic foe. If a loaf of bread be carelessly laid only for a few minutes, the heart of it will be found full of them. To protect the bread

from their incursions, it must be placed on a stand, in some dish filled with water. The pillars of bedsteads are, for the same reason, placed on an elevation, in vessels of a particular construction, which are filled with water, in order to keep off the approach of the insidious enemy. The meat is sometimes suspended in a sieve, by a rope rubbed over with tar, which these vermin will not venture to touch.

It seems a fortunate circumstance, that one species of the ant is in a state of constant hostility with another. Two species therefore cannot exist together, or co-operate in any system of offensive warfare, upon the domestic comfort of mankind. Besides the ants, which I have mentioned, there are numerous hosts of insects of other kinds, which it would be superfluous to enumerate in a sketch of this kind, which does not profess to give more than a few detached features of the natural history of the country.

CHAP. XLV.

Precious Stones. Articles of ancient Import and Export.

THOUGH the island is supplied with various kinds of salt and of fresh water fish, there are none which merit a particular description, except perhaps the pearl-oyster, with the mode in which it is obtained. Of this I reserve the account till I come to some topographical details respecting a few of the towns and forts upon the coast.

The mountains of Ceylon probably contain a variety of mineral treasures, which it is reserved for the future researches of philosophy, or of avarice, to disclose. Among the precious stones of the island, the emerald, with the cat's-eye, are held in the highest estimation. "Cat's-eye is the name given to a very hard stone, which approaches more or less to a white or green, and is semediaphanous, with a streak of the breadth of a line in the middle, which streak is much whiter than the stone itself, and throws its light to whatever side soever this is turned. In this respect therefore it resembles a cat's-eye, whence it derives its name." Thunberg, to whom I am indebted for this description, says, that the largest specimen which he saw of this species of stone was of the size of a hazel nut. Mr. Cordiner tells us, that a perfect cat's-eye of this size is worth 1500 rix-dollars of Ceylon currency, or £150 sterling. Rubies, for which Ceylon was renowned at a very early period, are seldom found at present of any considerable size; and are not often larger than particles of gravel, or grains of barley. The Indians speak of them as more or less ripe, which means more or less high-coloured. In proportion as the ruby is of a deeper red it is more transparent, and conse-

quently of greater value. The Moors, according to Thunberg, say, that they approach in hardness nearest to the diamond.

The Moors are here the chief dealers in precious stones, both in their rough and in their polished state; but they are said to be very dexterous in imposing counterfeit for genuine gems. The precious stones of Ceylon are found more especially in the region of Matura. Sometimes they are discovered on the surface of the earth, and in other places at the depth of from one, two, or three, to twenty or more feet.

The following articles of commerce were in ancient times imported into Ceylon, either to be purchased by foreign merchants, who resorted thither as to one of the great marts or emporiums of the East; or to be exchanged on the spot, for the different products of the island. Different coloured cloths, velvets, silks, of several sorts; red caps, porcelain, drugs of various kinds, amfioen or opium, camphor, spicery, steel, radix, China, tobacco, cotton, musk, eagle wood, called by the Portuguese pao d'aquila; saltpetre, sulphur, looking-glasses, glass bottles, &c.

The commodities of Ceylon, which constituted her principal means of exchange, were cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, elephants, and elephant's teeth, ebony wood, red sandal wood, antimony, salt, rice, areca nuts, shells, pearls, precious stones of various kinds, as rubies, sapphires, emeralds, topazes, garnets, cat's-eyes, and crystals of many different species.

CHAP. XLVI.

Topographical Notices. Point de Galle. Road to Matura. Temple of Boodh. Province of Matura; Town and Fort. Dondra Head. Magnificent Ruins of a Hindoo Temple. Tengalle. Province of Mahagampattoe. Batticalo. A Singalese School.

I SHALL now exhibit a few characteristic notices of some of the principal places upon the coast, commencing with Point de Galle, at the southern extremity of the island.

Point de Galle is situated on a low rocky promontory, and backed by several ranges of hills, rising above one another, and covered with wood. Forests of cocoa trees abound every where in the vicinity. The fort, in which most of the Europeans reside, is more than a mile in circumference, and contains a variety of large and commodious habitations. Though it is situated within less than six degrees of the equator, the temperature is frequently as low as 72° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, and never above 86°. Hence Europeans are much less incommoded by the heat than in other parts of India. There is a manufacture of tortoise-shell at this place, and ropes are formed from the exterior fibrous covering of the cocoa-nut. Vast quantities of white coral are found along the coast. The disease termed elephantiasis is said to prevail a good deal amongst the poor residents of Point de Galle, and is ascribed to bad water and insufficient nourishment. The leg is the part affected by the disease, and this is sometimes swelled to four times its natural size from the knee to the ancle; but the patient often lives many years under its operation. Mr. Percival reckons Point de Galle about sixty

miles from Columbo, and Mr. Cordiner states it to be seventy-eight. The road runs, for the most part, close to the shore; and the larger portion of the way is shaded by cocoa-nut and other trees, which reach the margin of the sea, and hang over the waves.

The road from Point de Galle to Matura, which is a distance of thirty miles, runs, for a large part of the way, through a forest of cocoa trees, and compensates for the want of extensive prospect by continuity of verdure and depth of shade. At intervals, where the road opens, hills are seen in the vicinity on the left, covered with lofty trees, rising from a mass of impenetrable brushwood. About half way between Point de Galle and Matura, and close to Belligam, on the summit of a hill, is a temple of Boodh, called Agrabuddhaganni. Here is a colossal statue of this venerable personage, in a recumbent posture. The walls of the temple are covered with paintings representing portions of the real or fabulous history of the country.

The picturesque beauties of the province of Matura may be readily conjectured from the following descriptive passage, which is extracted from the elegant work of Mr. Cordiner. "Sometimes venerable and majestic trees formed a shade over our heads; sometimes we travelled amidst flowering shrubs; sometimes through cultivated meadows and fields of smiling corn. Nature breathes around an eternal spring; flower blossoms and fruits adorn the woods at all seasons. A vast wilderness of noble plants rises in ten thousand beautiful landscapes, displaying a majesty and richness of scenery, and raising emotions of delight and admiration which cannot easily be described."*

Matura stands at a short distance from the sea, on the banks of the Neel-ganga, or Blue River. There is a square of good houses in the centre of the fort; and a street, which is inhabited by families of Dutch

* Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 187.

origin, extends along the banks of the river towards the sea. Landscapes of great beauty and luxuriance approach the vicinity of Matura. Game, according to Mr. Percival,* is plentiful in this place; and the surrounding country abounds with elephants, of which animals no less than 170 were caught in an elephant hunt in 1797.

Dondra Head, which forms the extreme point of the island towards the south, is a low strip of land, three miles from Matura, and covered with cocoa-nut trees. Here are seen the ruins of a Hindoo temple of great extent and magnificence. Two hundred of the columns are said by Mr. Cordiner to be still standing; some of which have curved bases and capitals, whilst others are kept in their original rough state. Near these ruins is a temple of Boodh, of more recent construction and smaller size, but which is said to possess such peculiar sanctity in the opinions of the Singalese, that an oath taken in this sanctuary is seldom violated.

The village of Tengalle, which is twenty-four miles distant from Matura, is principally inhabited by fishermen. It is embosomed in wood, and surrounded by hills on the land side. The road from Matura to Dickwell runs through a beautiful and well-peopled country; and thence to Tengalle the land is hilly, and covered with jungle, but not without many intervening spots of cultivated ground.

The province of Mahagampattoe, between Tengalle and Batticalo, is one of the wildest and least-cultivated districts; but those, by whom it has been traversed, describe it as one of the richest and most beautiful portions of the island. Part of the tract still exhibits vestiges of a higher degree of cultivation in a former period. It is at present very much infested by elephants, bears, leopards, and other wild animals, which add to the difficulties and insecurity of the way. Mr.

* P. 131.

Reeder, who travelled in 1801 from Batticalo to Tengalle, and from whose journal extracts are given in Mr. Cordiner's Tour, represents the country between Wammiemoodo and Karengekottotivo, as " charming beyond description. It reminded me," says he, " of the Capino at Florence, only that in place of pheasants, which are very numerous there, we have here peacocks and other beautiful birds crossing us in all directions. I walked with my gun for a quarter of an hour, and shot two, the tail of one of which measures one yard and a half in length. Had I been anxious to destroy them, I might with ease have killed fifty; but they are too valuable, being great enemies to the snakes, which abound in this part of the country. The other parts of the island which I have seen are not to be compared to the country between Batticalo and this place. The villages are neat and clean, and the people seem comfortable and happy: they mentioned never having seen a white man pass this road before." When Mr. Reeder arrived at Karengekottotivo, he says that the head man of the place came out to meet him with tom toms, &c. and that white calico was spread for him to walk upon, for about fifty yards, to the next " house, which was completely lined with cloth of a similar nature. Good fowls, milk, fruit, &c. were furnished me," says Mr. Reeder, " and I enjoyed a pleasant repast. I was treated in the same hospitable manner through the whole of the Batticalo district, and I shall ever hold these innocent people in the most friendly remembrance."

There is a small fort in the Island of Batticalo, with a little village near the walls. The island itself is about three miles and a half in circumference; Hindoos and Mahometans constitute the mass of the inhabitants; and the Malabar is the language in general use. The people here, as in other parts, wear gold rings of an enormous size. They are said often to be four inches in diameter. In order to accomodate their ears to these large appendages, they are bored at a very early period; and the orifice in the flap of the ear is enlarged by artificial means till it is dilated to the requisite dimensions. The necessaries of life may be

procured at a cheaper rate at Batticalo and in the vicinity than in any other part of the island. Game is to be had in abundance; and Mr. Cordiner mentions fish to be so cheap, that a halfpenny would purchase enough to dine two hard-working men. The eye is, at the same time, highly gratified by the rich rural scenery with which this spot is adorned; where we find delicious shades well fitted to excite devotional musing, and to kindle those affections of the heart, which are inspired by the beauties of creation, when associated with the benevolence of the Creator.

Mr. Cordiner has given a pleasing account of a Singalese school, which is established on the main land, about two English miles from the Island of Batticalo. "The appearance of the children," says Mr. Cordiner, "was extremely gratifying, and the deportment of a teacher, only fifteen years of age, particularly interesting. His complexion was fair, and his manners denoted mild and amiable dispositions. The scholars are smart and tractable, displaying sweet serenity in their countenances. Their hair is nicely combed, plaited, and fixed in a knot, resembling a cockade with a silver pin in it; sometimes on the right, and sometimes on the left side of the head. A little thin hair is combed down upon the face, and at the back of the neck the hair is cropped quite close. The costume is handsome and becoming; but when the youth arrives at the age of puberty, the knot is tied behind, and all its elegance disappears. The children of the first class of inhabitants wear gold rings about their necks, legs, and arms, but no other articles of dress, excepting a piece of printed muslin about the waist. They sit upon the ground on mats, with their legs under them, seemingly very attentive to their tasks, which they read and repeat with as much vociferation as possible. The music of their voices resembles, in some degree, the quick notes of a harpsichord. They learn the letters in the same manner as the Singalese, and all the other nations of India, by writing them in sand upon the floor, or a stone bench, at the same time singing their names and the characteristics of their formation: as if in writing the letter A they

were to say A is one line up, another down, and one across. Boys of five years of age write after this method with great facility and neatness. Those more advanced write, or engrave with a stylus, or piece of pointed steel fixed in a brass handle, on slips of tallipot, or Palmyra leaves, which are thicker than parchment, and of a nature no less durable. When the writing is finished, they sometimes rub over the leaf with a black juice, which fills up the characters, making them look bright and beautiful."*

The inlet of the sea, in which the Island of Batticalo is situated, runs thirty miles into the country, and contains several other islands of a similar size. The adjacent main land is level to some distance from the shore, where it gradually rises into a mountainous ridge of diversified forms and loftiest view.

* Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 258—9.

CHAP. XLVII.

Trincomalee; inestimable Advantages of its Harbour; Fort and surrounding Scenery. Village of Moletive. Jaffnapatam; the Fort, Town, and Country. Inhabitants. Vestiges of the Religious Zeal of the Portuguese. Curious Form of Swearing in a Criminal Process. Reflections.

THE harbour of Trincomalee is what gives a singular value to the possession of this island. The possession of this harbour is indeed of such importance, that it facilitates, if it does not ensure the command of the ocean in that part of the world. During the violence of the monsoons, no vessel can ride in safety on any part of the coast of Choromandel, or of Malabar. But this incomparable harbour offers a station of security at all times of the year, for any number of ships and of any size. It is so deep and spacious, that five hundred ships may lie at anchor in it, without any inconvenience. Though the water is deep, it is as transparent as glass, and seldom exhibits an agitated surface.

Its general tranquillity gives it the appearance of a lake, and this similitude is increased by the surrounding scenery, which consists of mountains of various forms, and shaded with foliage of perpetual green.

The proximity of Trincomalee to all the English settlements in the bay of Bengal, renders it of inestimable value to this country; and indeed if, in the revolutions of human affairs, the power of Great Britain should be annihilated on the peninsula of Hindoostan, the possession of Ceylon would of itself be sufficient to perpetuate her naval ascendant, and her commercial superiority in the East. Without the territorial dominion

of India, Great Britain may safely defy every maritime or commercial rival in that part of the world, as long as this island continues one of the appendages of her crown.

Trincomalee is situated in 8° 28′ north latitude, and in 81° 28′ east longitude. The walls embrace a circumference of about three miles,* and enclose a hill immediately over the sea, which, according to Mr. Percival, is covered with thick jungle, and affords a shelter to wild deer and other game. Most of the houses are built on the lower ground, close to the landing place. Fort Ostenburgh, which protects the mouth of the harbour, is three miles to the west of Trincomalee, and was originally constructed by the Portuguese out of the ruins of a pagoda of great celebrity. It is at present strongly fortified, and indeed there is no military post in Ceylon, which is capable of being rendered so impregnable as Trincomalee.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee is more sterile than in other parts of the island, but its productive powers have not been brought to the test of diligent cultivation. And, whatever may be its actual fertility, it seems agreed, that in beauty of scenery it is unrivalled by any of the other settlements. Since this important place has been in the possession of the English, it has been rendered more healthy by clearing the wood and draining the marshes in the immediate vicinity.

The small village of Moletive is situated about half way between Trincomalee and Jaffnapatam. The road from Trincomalee runs nearly in a line with the shore, and is in general wild, varied, and beautiful. The village of Moletive lies about a quarter of a mile from the sea. It contains some good houses, which are built of stone. The adjacent country exhibits a variegated picture of corn

* Percival, p. 41.

fields, cottages, trees, and meadows, along with features of a bolder and more rugged kind. Cattle and poultry are cheap; and the country furnishes an abundance of venison, as there are deer of three or four different species.

Jaffnapatam is situated on a neck of land towards the northern extremity of the island. Its latitude is 9° 47′ north, and the longitude 80° 9′ east. The fortress is an excellent structure. There is a square in the centre, the sides of which are occupied by the residence of the governor, by comfortable houses, which are tenanted by the officers, by barracks for the soldiers, and by one of the best churches in Ceylon. A street, which is inhabited by artificers and persons of inferior condition, runs at the back of one of the sides of the square. The pettah or town without the walls is large and populous. The principal street passes through the centre and is shaded by lofty trees. The houses, which are only one story high, with verandahs, are neat buildings, perfectly white on the outside, and covered with red pantiles on the top. The country in the vicinity is very fertile and highly cultivated, and the markets are well supplied with fruit, vegetables, game, and poultry. Though the soil is flat, the sensation of weariness or monotony is prevented by the varied luxuriance of vegetable life which it displays. The air is pure, and the temperature moderated by the vicinity of the sea. A constant intercourse is maintained with the coast of India, a passage to which from Point Pedro, at the northern extremity of the island, occupies only a few hours.

All the native inhabitants pass under the denomination of Malabars, one half of whom are nominally Christians, with a small portion of Mahometans. The most expert artificers are said to be found amongst those of the natives, who were originally of Portuguese extraction. The province of Jaffnapatam bears ample testimony to the religious ardour, which once animated the Portuguese when they were masters of the coast; for it exhibits the vestiges of no less than thirty-two churches,

where the Romish religion was once celebrated. During the sway of the Portuguese in this island more attention was paid to religion than to trade; and, during that of the Dutch, more attention was paid to trade than to religion. Let us hope that the English will manifest a reasonable zeal for both.

The Portuguese were more tolerant in religion than the Dutch, but the Dutch were less tolerant than they ought. Under the mild dominion of the English, all religions at present enjoy the most perfect toleration.

Whilst Mr. Cordiner was at Jaffnapatam, he witnessed the administration of an oath, in a criminal process, to some natives of the place.* The ceremony was performed in the porch of a Hindoo temple. Some near relative was with each of the witnesses. Both the relation and the witness received from the officiating priest a small portion of consecrated ashes, which they rubbed upon the forehead, chest, and arms. " The relation then stretched himself upon the floor, with his face touching the ground. The person sworn repeated the words of the obligation, and stepped over him. If, after this ceremony, they should be guilty of perjury, they believe that some calamity will befal, either themselves or their relation. They are generally called upon by the adverse party to produce the person who is most dear to them, which they sometimes do with visible reluctance; but the ceremony is so affecting and impressive, that they seldom go through it, without a determination to speak the truth." It is a depressing consideration for the lover of his species, that, in order to induce people to speak truth, it should be necessary to have recourse to ceremonies, which are entirely independent of the moral obligation. But what motive ought to operate on the

* Vol. I. p. 329.

mind with more force than the obligation itself, or why should some exterior ceremony have more efficacy than the sanctity of truth? The serious and impressive ceremonial, with which all nations, whether more or less civilized, have associated the administration of an oath, whilst it shews the inestimable importance of truth, exhibits, at the same time, a melancholy proof of the proneness which there is in men to tell lies in questions, in which the heart is exposed to the sway of private interest.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Bay of Condatchy. Great Assemblage of Persons for the Pearl Fishery. Banks where the Oysters are found. Season of the Fishery. Simultaneous Departure of the Boats. Mode of Diving. Time which the Divers remain under Water. Produce of the Pearl Oyster. Classification of Pearls. Payment of the Divers; their Fondness for the Occupation. Forms of Conjuration to dissipate the Apprehension of the Shark. Dexterity of the Conjurors in maintaining the Reputation of their Art. Variegated Spectacle during the Fishery.

DURING the season of the pearl fishery, the bay of Condatchy is crowded with small vessels; and astonishing multitudes are seen assembled on the beach from all parts of India. During their stay they reside in temporary huts formed of sticks, mats, pieces of cloth, rice-straw, and Palmyra leaves. The huts are ranged in regular streets, and contain thousands of busy and animated inhabitants.

The banks, where the pearl oysters are found, are situated about fifteen miles from the shore, and occupy a considerable extent. These banks are divided into several portions, only one of which is fished in one season, in order to afford time for the oysters to attain a proper growth. The oysters are supposed to attain their maturity in seven years, when they sicken and die.

The season for the fishery commences in February, and ends in April; but various interruptions are occasioned by bad weather, and by the holidays of the different sects and nations, by whom it is frequented.

On Sunday all the divers, and others who are Christians, attend the Romish chapel at Aripo.

All the boats depart and return at a given signal. About midnight the whole fleet sails with the breeze which blows from the shore; and, after reaching their destined station, they cast anchor and await the dawn. The diving commences between six and seven o'clock in the morning. Each boat contains twenty men, besides the pilot, and two other persons. Of the twenty men, ten are employed in diving, whilst the rest assist them to re-ascend. Of the ten divers, five alternately relieve each other in the laborious operation. Each diver puts one of his feet into a loop, from which a heavy stone is suspended, in order to accelerate his descent; and he places his other foot in a basket of net-work suspended from the boat by a rope. When he reaches the bottom he disengages his foot from the stone, which is immediately drawn up. The diver now keeping himself as much as possible upon his face, puts every thing he can collect into his basket; and, when he is ready to re-ascend, he gives a signal, by jerking the rope, which is hauled up without delay. The blood sometimes gushes from the nose and ears of the diver after his emersion from the deep. The divers, according to the account of Mr. Cordiner, remain under water from one to one and a half, or two minutes. But Mr. Percival says,* that instances are known of persons who would remain under water for four or five minutes; and that, in 1797, a diver from Anjango actually remained "full six minutes" under water.

The diving continues for five or six hours; and on those days, on which three hundred boats are employed, the ear of the spectator is forcibly struck by the perpetual plunging in the deep. When the sea-breeze commences, a signal is given for the diving to cease; and the boats make for the shore, which they generally reach between four and five in the afternoon.

* P. 65.

The pearls are commonly found in the most fleshy part of the oyster near the hinge. One oyster generally contains several pearls; but pearls of a large size are of rare occurrence. Mr. Cordiner once saw the produce of 17,000 oysters, which weighed only three-quarters of a pound, and were contained in a vessel smaller than a common soup-plate. Out of that quantity not two perfect pearls were found of the first or second classes of size. The pearls are sorted according to their sizes by being put into perforated saucers or cullenders, which are denominated according to the number of holes they contain, as 20, 30, 50, 80, 100, 200, 400, 600, 800, and 1000; and, of course, only the largest pearls remain in the cullenders with the small numbers. The cullenders from number 100 to 1000 are denominated of the second order. The estimation of the pearl, however, depends not only upon the size, but upon the shape, colour, and other qualities.* The pearls which pass through the cullender which has 1000 perforations, are called seed-pearls, from their diminutive size.

The divers are usually paid by a certain proportion of the oysters which they procure; and, though this proportion is liable to several deductions, it does not appear to be an unprofitable employment, as every labourer in this branch of industry is said, at the end of the season, to have forty or fifty pagodas to carry home to his family. The diving itself does not excite the repugnance of those who are engaged in it, but

* Mr. Cordiner says, "A handsome necklace of pearls, smaller than a large pea, costs from one hundred and seventy to three hundred pounds sterling. But a very pretty necklace of pearls, about the size of a pepper-corn, may be procured for fifteen pounds. The former pearls sell at one guinea each, and the latter at eighteen pence. When the pearls dwindle to the size of small shot, they are sold at a very trifling price." Vol. II. p. 66.—" At the fishery the pearls of different sizes are sold together in a mass at two hundred pagodas (or eighty pounds sterling) per pound." In the year 1804 the fishery was let by the governor, for the season, to a native of Jaffnapatam. He was to fish for thirty days with 150 boats for the sum of 300,000 Porto Novo pagodas, or £120,000 sterling. But as the season proved a bad one, the government remitted about one third part of this sum; and, notwithstanding this deduction, the contractor is said to have been a loser by the bargain. The number of oysters brought on shore during this season did not average more than 3000 each boat.

is regarded rather as an agreeable pastime than an unpleasant toil. It seems, indeed, to operate upon the mind by the perpetual excitement of hope; and, though it is a sort of lottery, yet few lotteries are associated with so many probabilities of ultimate advantage. The only cause of painful apprehension to the divers seems to arise from the dread of the shark; but an efficacious remedy for this sensation has been found in the superstition of the people. Two conjurers are constantly employed for the purpose, whose charms are supposed to be capable of taming the voracious monsters of the deep. One of these dealers in sorcery always accompanies the fleet, whilst another remains on shore to mutter his incantations and perform his magic ceremonies. For this purpose, according to the account of Mr. Cordiner, which is somewhat different from that of Mr. Percival, " he is stripped naked, and shut up in a room, where no person sees him from the period of the sailing of the boats until their return. He has before him a brass basin full of water, containing one male and one female fish made of silver. If any accident should happen from a shark at sea, it is believed that one of these fishes is seen to bite the other."*

Mr. Percival says that, during the time of the fishery, the conjurers " stand on the shore from the morning till the boats return in the afternoon, all the while muttering and mumbling prayers, distorting their bodies into various strange attitudes, and performing ceremonies, to which no one can attach any meaning. All this while it is necessary for them to abstain from food or drink, otherwise their prayers would be of no avail. These acts of abstinence, however, they sometimes dispense with, and regale themselves with toddy till they are no longer able to stand at their devotions."†

As these conjurers are in high repute, and great faith is placed in the potency of their incantations, they are liberally rewarded by the credu-

* Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 52.

† Percival, p. 66—7.

lity of their votaries; and, as accidents appear very seldom to happen, they readily manage to maintain their credit unimpaired. But on one occasion, since the island has been occupied by the British, one of the divers had his leg bitten off by a shark. The head-conjurer was of course called to account for this great deficiency in his art; but he saved the honour of his profession by replying, that an old witch, who owed him a grudge, had secretly come over from the coast of Malabar, and counteracted the force of his spells; but that, now he was aware of the hostile intrusion, he would shew the superiority of his art, by so binding up the mouths of the sharks, that they should do no more mischief during that season. And, as no more mischief happened to ensue, the reputation of the conjurer, instead of being impaired, was augmented in renown.*

During the season of the fishery, the bay of Condatchy exhibits a most interesting spectacle. At that period this barren spot displays a variegated assemblage of persons of different nations, religions, and manners, and from the most remote regions. It exhibits the commercial bustle of a great mart, and all the combined amusements of a fair on the largest scale. Here are artificers and traders of every description, mingled with jugglers, tumblers, female dancers, mendicants, sharpers, and pilferers of every class, form, and hue.

* Asiatic Annual Register for 1800, p. 122. Percival, p. 68.

CHAP. XLIX.

Country between Aripo and Putlam; between Putlam and Chilauw; Chilauw and Negumbo. Town of Negumbo; Situation; Cinnamon Gardens. Road to Columbo; Beauty of the Scenery. Rest-House at Jaellé.

THE country between Aripo and Putlam offers some beautiful views, but few traces of cultivation. The greater part of the road is bounded on both sides by dense and impenetrable woods, which form the undisturbed domain of wild beasts and reptiles, exempted from the intrusion of man. At Putlam, which is a village of considerable traffic, the Singalese barter areka nuts, cardamoms, black pepper, and coffee, for calicoes, muslins, salt, and dried fish. The country from Putlam to Chilauw is more open than that between Aripo and Putlam, but displaying little more cultivation. Between Chilauw and Negumbo the landscape assumes a more smiling and cultivated aspect, and is particularly grateful to the traveller who has lately passed through nothing but wilds and woods.

Negumbo is a large and populous town on the coast, twenty-four miles from Columbo, in a beautiful and healthy situation. About two miles north of Negumbo the soil becomes a rich mould, and the surface of the country displays the highest degree of vegetable luxuriance. An avenue, cut through groves of cocoas, conducts to the centre of a neat, large, populous town, diversified by the shade of intervening trees.

Areka nuts, betel, coffee, and black pepper, flourish in the neighbourhood; and a considerable trade is carried on with the interior of the

Candian territory. Fish, which are caught here in abundance, are a principal article of traffic. There is an inland navigation to Columbo, by lakes, rivers, and canals. The soil of Negumbo appears to be as favourable to the growth of cinnamon as any part of the island, nor is the quality at all inferior to that of Columbo. During Mr. North's beneficent administration, he formed some new cinnamon gardens* at Negumbo, which it was supposed would in time yield a sufficient quantity for the British market; so that the gardens at Columbo might be appropriated to other purposes.

The way from Negumbo to Columbo leads through scenes of the most delicious vegetation. It may indeed be truly called a garden of beauty and delight, where Nature seems to have lavished her captivating hues, and to have combined all her stores of gratification. Here she is seen to revel in all her prodigality of ornament, and to wanton in a boundless variety of trees and shrubs, fruits and flowers. I cannot here refrain from quoting Mr. Cordiner's description of this enchanting way:—"The jack, the bread-fruit, the jamboo, and the cashew-tree, weave their spreading branches into an agreeable shade, amidst the stems of the areka and the cocoa-nut. The black pepper and betel plants creep up the sides of the lofty trunks: coffee, cinnamon, and an immense variety of flowering shrubs, fill the intermediate spaces; and the mass of charming foliage is blended together with a degree of richness that beggars the powers of description. All the beautiful productions of the island are concentrated in one exuberant spot."†

At Jaellé, which is half way between Negumbo and Columbo, there is a neat and well-built rest-house, where travellers may regale themselves at a very cheap rate, with some of the most delicious fruits which India can boast. "Pine apples," says Mr. Cordiner, "are purchased at the rate of two for three halfpence, pumplenoses (the shaddock of the West

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. I. p. 312. † Cordiner, Vol. I. 345.

Indies) from threepence to fourpence a piece, oranges fourpence per dozen, jacks (the largest species of artocarpus, or bread-fruit) fourpence, and all other productions of the soil at corresponding prices." These prices, low as they may seem, were much lower before the arrival of the British in the island.

The traveller crosses the Calany-ganga river at the distance of three miles from Columbo, and in the intermediate way the country presents all the cheering features of industry and opulence.

CHAP. L.

Columbo. The Fort; Houses; Harbour. Healthiness of the Climate. The Pettah and Suburbs. The Lake. Slave Island. Adjacent Country.

COLUMBO, the capital of the British settlements in Ceylon, lies in 7° north latitude, and 79° 48′ longitude east of Greenwich. The fort is situated on a small projection of land, which is washed by the sea for about two thirds of its extent. The rest is bordered by a lake of fresh water, except in two places, where narrow slips of land form a connexion between the country and the fort. The fort itself is a mile and a quarter in circumference. The interior, which forms the principal residence of the Europeans, contains broad, straight and regular streets, intersecting each other at right angles, and planted on each side by double rows of the portia or tulip tree, which afford an agreeable shade and bear a yellow flower.

Before each house is a large open space or verandahs, covered with a sloping roof at top, and supported on pillars.* The houses are, in general, constructed with a hall or occasional sitting room in the front, and a chamber on each side. Another room at the back extends the whole length of the front, and varies from forty to one hundred feet. From the centre of the long room a back verandah projects, from which the two ranges of offices, or buildings for other purposes, run at right angles. When the English first obtained possession of Columbo in 1796,

* "Here," says Mr. Percival, p. 103, "it is customary to see the people walking about or lolling in a chair, with their feet supported against the railing, which is placed along the pillars, to the height of three or four feet."

all the houses had glass windows, but venetian blinds have since been generally substituted in their stead, which are more agreeable and better adapted to the climate. The houses have seldom more than one floor, but there are a few with two stories, which are highly prized for the fine prospects they command. Every house has a well of brackish water; but all the water which is fit to drink is brought from springs about a mile from the town, and conveyed by bullocks in leathern bags.*

The harbour of Columbo is an open road, which affords a safe anchorage for ships only for about six months in the year, or from the beginning

* When Mr. Percival was at Columbo, he complains that the roofs were so badly tiled, as to admit water to such a degree, as to render it difficult for an individual in the rainy season to find a dry place on which to lay his head. He mentions, that the mischief was partly occasioned by crows picking up bones, &c. in the streets, carrying them to the tops of the houses, and there fighting for the plunder till the tiles were broken or displaced in the fray. Monkies also are said by the above author to assist in the work of demolition. "While I was at Columbo," says Mr. Percival, "I recollect a very mischievous monkey, who used to run wild about the fort, and was so very cunning, that it was impossible to catch him. One day he suddenly made his entrance into my apartment, carried off a loaf of bread from my table, and made his escape. I immediately gave the alarm to an officer I observed standing at the next door; upon which, he ran in to secure his own breakfast; but, to his great mortification, found that the monkey had been before-hand with him, and was already scrambling up to the roof of the houses, with a loaf in each paw. Next day the same monkey snatched off a very fine parrot before the gentleman's face to whom it belonged, tore it to pieces, and then held it out to the gentleman, with many expressions of satisfaction and triumph at the exploit." Thunberg mentions an ape, that is a native of the island and called Rollewai, which he says that many Singalese kept tame in their houses. "When this ape," says the traveller just mentioned, "sees any of his acquaintance, he directly comes jumping to him, fawns upon him, grins, and with a peculiar kind of cry testifies his joy. He is of a very friendly and gentle nature, and is very loth to bite any one, unless he is immoderately irritated. If any one kisses and caresses a child, he seeks to do the same; if you beat a child, he rears himself up upon his hind legs, grins and howls in a wretched manner, and, if let loose, will attack the party that beats the child. He leaps faster than he runs, because his hind legs are longer. He eats fruit of every kind; as for instance, cocoa-nuts, apples, pears, greens, potatoes, bread, &c. He is very delicate and tender with respect to his tail, which is longer than his body. In size, he is nearly upon a par with the Lemur Catta, or somewhat larger." This ape appears to be very sensitive of cold, and to die upon coming into a more rigorous climate.

of October to the end of March. The west wind blows from the ocean during the other six months with such violence, as to render all intercourse with Columbo by sea impracticable during half the year. During this period, this part of the island is exposed to torrents of rain, to dreadful storms of thunder and lightning, and to all the fury of the winds. In the rainy season, which is of longer duration in Ceylon, than on the coast of Malabar or Choromandel, the Singalese are more particularly subject to a disorder, to which they give the name of berry-berry, a species of dropsy of the most fatal kind.* It appears to proceed from a low, meagre diet, bad water, and a climate perpetually damp. Mr. Cordiner, however, bears strong testimony to the healthiness of Columbo. He says, "That no climate in the world is more salubrious, and that a person, who remains within doors while the sun is powerful, never wishes to experience one more temperate. During five years residence," he continues, "I rarely heard of any person being sick, unless those, whose illness was caught in the interior of the country. Before the commencement of hostilities with the King of Candy in 1803, a fnneral was not a common occurrence at Columbo, and out of a thousand British soldiers, it often happened, that one man was not lost in the space of two months. The air is, at all times, pure and healthy, and its temperature uncommonly uniform. Farenheit's thermometer usually fluctuates in the shade about the point of 80°. It seldom ranges more than five degrees in a day, and only thirteen during the whole

* This disorder, according to Mr. Cordiner, "First became known to the English surgeons in Ceylon, by breaking out in a regiment of Madras native infantry, which had served several years in the island. It raged amongst them with great fury, carrying off one half of their number, and continued its ravages until the remainder were transported to the coast of Choromandel, where change of air and a more generous diet contributed to their recovery. Rice was almost their only food in Ceylon, mutton being sold there at so extravagant a price, that they could not afford to purchase it; beef forbidden by their religion; and the curry stuffs, to which they had been accustomed, not being procurable for money." Cordiner, Vol. I. p. 183.—Mr. Percival says, p. 108, "that the berry-berry swells the body and legs of the patient to an enormous size, and generally carries him off in twenty-four hours."

year, 86° being the highest and 73° the lowest, at which it has been seen in any season." *

The pettah, or town without the fort, is clean, regular, and larger than that within. It consists of five streets parallel to each other, and each of half a mile in length. These streets are intersected by the same number at right angles. The fronts of the houses are shaded by virandahs, but they want the dense foliage of the portia, which serves to shelter the houses within the fort from the scorching rays of the sun. Many straggling streets, containing houses of smaller dimensions, are built beyond the pettah, and run for several miles into the country. The fort is principally occupied by the English; the pettah by the Dutch and Portuguese; and the ramifications of the suburbs by native Singalese. Mr. Cordiner computes the collective number of inhabitants of the fort, town, and suburbs, of Columbo, at more than 50,000.

The lake which runs at the back of the fort, and forms a circuit of several miles, is divided by a tongue of land, which was denominated Slave Island, from the use to which it was applied by the Dutch. It is now occupied by a mud village, a bazar, a parade, and two gentlemen's seats. The rest is covered with a dark grove of cocoa-nut trees. This slip of land, after crossing the lake, disappears in the wide expanse of the cinnamon plantations, which make a circumference of more than twelve miles.

The neighbourhood of Columbo abounds with beautifully-diversified rides. The scenery is varied by the gentle eminences which are scattered about the plain, and delight is infused by the sight of its exuberant vegetation. But, even in the neighbourhood of this populous town, the wild predominates over the cultivated. The surface is, for the greater part, covered with impenetrable brush-wood; above which trees of an-

* Vol. I. p. 62.

cient growth cast a deeper shade. Some of the most striking and picturesque views are visible from the fort, where Adam's Peak towers into conspicuous notice in the back ground; while, in the more immediate vicinity, the eye is gratified by the sight of thick groves of cocoa-nut and other trees, interspersed with villas and country-seats, with the lake beneath, fringed with shade, and coming close up to the glacis of the fort.*

* The expense of living in Ceylon is represented to be as great as it is in any of the settlements on the continent of India. The expense of servants is much greater, as most of the persons of that description have been brought from the continent. But the native inhabitants of the island will, no doubt, in time be trained to all kinds of domestic employments, which will so far be productive of less expensive establishments. "No bachelor," says Mr. Cordiner, "can keep house at Columbo comfortably, for less than £800 a year: and he may live at Madras for the same sum. A captain, who receives about £500 per annum, finds it extremely difficult to live upon his pay, notwithstanding the benefit of a mess; and a subaltern, who draws about £300, must practise rigid economy to avoid running in debt. Great loads of meat appear upon the tables of the English inhabitants in Ceylon, as well as of those of all parts of India: and this custom proceeds from the economy of housekeeping being entirely trusted to native servants, who estimate the respectability of a dinner by the quantity and largeness of the dishes that are crowded on the board. In houses, where an English lady or gentleman pays any attention to domestic matters, the case is different, and the superior comfort of their living is always strikingly observed. The only advantage which the tables of Europeans possess over those of the same rank in the united kingdom, is the profusion of elegant fruits, which, every day of the year, furnishes a desert. But the relish for those luxuries is soon lost; and an English inhabitant of Ceylon looks with as much indifference on pine apples and oranges, as John Bull does upon hard biscuit. The dainties of the table in greatest estimation there are all imported from London; such as hams, cheese, pickles, and preserves. Claret, imported from England, is generally sold at four pounds per dozen, and is the wine which is most esteemed. That which comes direct from Bourdeaux is sold at thirty-six shillings, and is a purer but weaker wine. Madeira may be purchased at the last-mentioned price. English ale is also a very favourite beverage. The usual mode of living is to rise at day-break, ride for an hour or two in the country, dress, or perhaps bathe, on returning; breakfast at half-past seven o'clock, commence business at nine, and conclude at four. Lounging and dressing fill up the time until half-past five, which is the hour of another ride. Dinner is usually on the table at seven o'clock, and from it the company retire to rest between nine and ten. Many persons are in the habit of sitting down to a repast at one o'clock, which is called tiffen, and is in fact an early dinner. By those, who can command their time, this is esteemed the best hour of the day for eating, as the evening is the most agreeable and wholesome season for enjoying a glass of wine."

CHAP. LI.

The Birth of Birruma (Brahma), Vishnu, and Uritiram. Their separate Offices. Birruma's two Wives; their Descendants. Incarnations of Vishnu. Vedams. Purrannahs. Doctrines respecting the Soul. Effect of Alms-giving. Future Punishments. Giants destroyed by Vishnu.

THE universe* was round as an egg, which being broken, all the ages or worlds appeared. God then manifested his form, or image, towering in immensity. His presence extended through all space. His feet penetrated through the depths of the earth. His stomach was as the earth, his head as the atmosphere, and his eyes as the sun and moon. This was his appearance; but, though he assumed this mode of manifestation, his divinity was the same and unchanged. He was alone in the midst of light. When he touched any thing, the thunder rolled; and, whilst it rolled, the birth of Birruma took place, then that of Vishnu, and next that of Uritiram.

To these three persons the Omnipotent appointed three several offices, to create, to preserve, and to destroy. The office of Birruma is to create, of Vishnu to preserve, of Uritiram to destroy. They are assimilated to the earth, the water, and the fire. If a tree be planted in the

* I have in some places given only a few of the select features, and in others the substance of what the reader may find in Valentyn under this head; but most of what I have omitted is too indefinite to be made distinct and too obscure to be understood. I have, however, produced enough to shew, that the most extravagant superstition and the most exaggerated absurdities may be often rendered subservient to a moral purpose.

earth where there is no water, it will not grow. Birruma and Vishnu are as the water and the earth, Uritiram is as the sun. The scorching heat of the sun burns up the grass.

Birruma had two wives, Sarasupadi and Majahi. The first was a woman of the other world. Majahi, who was of the race of the giants, and herself a giantess, bore a son called Gaxila Iritru. This Gaxila Iritru also married two wives; one of whom was named Tidi, who was a devastri, or goddess of the other world; and Adidi, who was of the race of the giants, and herself a giantess. The first had three-and-thirty millions of children. Adidi proved the mother of nine millions of children; some of whom were of the race of Asmar, or the demon of the air, and others of the race of the giants.

Vishnu underwent ten incarnations, in order to put these nine millions to death, and Uritiram acted as the executioner. Four laws, or vedams, were formed through the assistance of Birruma, that is, Iricu Vedam; Ediri, or Tirru Vedam; Sama Vedam; and Adarana Vedam. Iricu Vedam regards Birruma, Tirru Vedam relates to Vishnu, Sama Vedam to Uritiram, and Adarana Vedam to the giants.

Iricu Vedam exhibits the modes of imprecation; Ediri Vedam relates to ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies; Sama Vedam is to shew the way of truth respecting God: Adarana Vedam is to teach the arts of the devil, and the worship of devils.

Demuni, a godly man, and entitled Vedaviagaram, composed eighteen purrannahs, or expositions of these four laws; in which he appears to have taught, amongst other things, that, after death, the soul had to traverse two oceans, one of which was of blood, and the other of fire. The readiest way to secure a safe passage over these tremendous seas, was to give alms, particularly to the Brahmins. These alms were not to

be given with grudging parsimony, but with cheerful liberality. Thus good works were to serve as boats or ships to transport the soul to the shore which lies beyond the regions of blood and fire.

The alms and good works which a man's children or friends did in his name after his death, would not escape the observation of the all-seeing sun, who would transport the stock of merit, to which they might amount, to the place of his departed soul.

Thus people were invited to marry, in order to have children, through whose aid they might acquire so much merit, as, after an interval of punishment, to be rescued from hell and removed to a state of glory.

Some said that a man would obtain salvation and happiness in a future life only by those alms which he gave with his own hands.

When a man died, his good and his evil deeds were summed up in the presence of God. If his good works turned the scale, a state of glory was his recompense: but, if his sins were greater than his good deeds, hell was to be his portion; and from that hell, if he had no posterity, he had no chance of deliverance.

Some thought that those who are tormented in hell, which they call Jamalocon, had a certain prescribed period of punishment to undergo, after which they would be removed to a happier state. But they also taught, that there are some who are plunged into a dark abyss, which they call Autes Tappes, out of which there is no return for ever and ever. The inmates of this place of misery never enjoy an interval of unconsciousness or oblivion, but are incessantly agonized by every species of woe, and every variety of suffering.

In this mythology of the Singalese, which appears, in a great measure,

a transcript from that of the Hindoos, the giants are often represented as disturbing the harmony of the world, which is again restored by Vishnu, under some of his numerous transformations. For instance, on one occasion a giant named Sanguxura is said to have seized one of the laws of Birruma, and to have conveyed it to the world which is near the earth. This was perceived by Vishnu, who was then enjoying his repose in a sea of milk. Vishnu, after searching for the giant through the whole sea in the form of a fish, at last detected the depredator, opened his stomach, took out the law, and delivered it to Birruma.

Another giant, named Vaquira Tenda, once rolled up the world like a scroll, and drew it beneath the earth, when Vishnu following the same track in the form of a hog, killed the giant, and restored things to their ancient state.

A giant, who was at the same time a king, and named Irannian, issued an order that he should be worshipped as a god; for that there was no God but he. This giant king had a son named Pradaladan, who worshipped God alone, and refused to acknowledge his father to be God. In order to punish this disobedience, his father ordered him to be taken to the top of a high hill and thrown into the sea; but this immersion in the deep did not subdue the resolution of the refractory prince. His father then ordered him to be bound to a pillar of stone, and scourged with rods. After he had undergone this discipline, his father asked him if his God was in the pillar? The son answered, that God was present in every part of the whole world, and was in the pillar as well as in every other place. Vishnu, now practising one of his transformations, opened the stomach of Irannian with a needle, which caused his death.

In one instance Vishnu, in the shape of a dwarfish Brahmin, requested of the giant Mavili three hands' breadth of earth, on which he might

build a house. This was promised; when Vishnu, towering to the heavens, and stretching the palm of one of his hands over the earth, and the other over the sky, asked where he should obtain the third hand's breadth to make up the complement? Mavili then throwing himself upon the earth, told him to measure it upon his back, when Vishnu setting his foot upon the rear of Mavili, pushed him into the abyss under the earth.

CHAP. LII.

Metaphysical Speculations uncertain; Moral Truths essentially the same in all Parts of the World. Moral Lessons of the Singalese and Malabars.

IT is painful to contemplate the labyrinth of folly, in which men are apt to bewilder themselves when they speculate upon subjects which are placed beyond the limits of the human understanding. Where revelation is wanting, we have no other light, by which to direct our way, than that of reason, analogy, and experience; but these are usually deemed too humble auxiliaries in points of theological research; and the imagination, operating under the influence of inflamed or fanaticised feeling, is usually preferred to more cautious inference, and more sober investigation.

But, though men are apt to rush into such a vortex of absurdity in matters of theological speculation, yet it is very pleasing at the same time to know, that, when they reflect on moral rules of conduct and the common duties of life, they all form the same, or nearly the same, opinions, and proceed to the same results. Here, indeed, they do not attempt to mount into regions beyond mortal vision, or suffer the mind to be hurried into a state of clouds and darkness by the whirlwind of the imagination. They tread on sure and solid ground; and reason and common sense afford a clear and satisfactory light upon the way.

The moral duties of life must be the same in all parts of the world; as they arise out of the nature of man, and the relations in which he is

placed. Now this nature is every where the same, whether the skin be black or white, or the latitude hot or cold; and, though the social relations may be diversified, they must still, in all nations and circumstances, be virtually homogeneous. The relations of husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, with all the kindred ties, the sympathies of friendship, the mutual dependence of the rich and the poor, the governors and the governed, cannot be essentially different at the equator and the pole. Truth, justice, and benevolence, are essentially the same in their nature, their obligations, and importance, in India and in Europe, in the Island of Ceylon and in that of Great Britain; and, therefore, when the natives of these different regions talk of moral duties, they will be found to coincide in a much higher degree than in questions which leave more room for uncertain conjecture and fanciful speculation.

After contemplating some of the wild and incoherent fictions of the Singalese and Malabars on points of inscrutable ambiguity, the reader will, I think, be pleased with the perusal of some of their moral lessons, which I am now going to submit to his inspection. The following is called the Nidi Shastram; and the precepts appear to be selected from several laws, or vedas, and delivered in that tone of authority which is employed by a legislator, or a person delivering rules of conduct, of which he is impressed by the truth, and conscious of the importance.

He who gives alms, should do it with discrimination. That which is good for one person, may not be so for another. But let no negligence appear in doing the works of love.

Death makes no distinction between the rich and the poor, but only between the just and the unjust, though all are born to die.

The good and the bad are respectively doomed to experience the good or the evil of their doings; and this effect would take place, even though one hundred millions of years might intervene.

Every person, who is about to engage in any work, should first well consider what it is that he is going to undertake. If he makes the attempt without this previous consideration, it shall turn out ill, as happened to the wife of a Brahmin, who, with thoughtless fondness, fed a mongoos till he burst.

The money which a man has taken pains to amass, and the house which he has laboured to build, shall not go with him when he dies. His relations or his friends may accompany his ashes to the grave; but the good or the evil which he does, is what alone is inseparably attached to him after death.

A covetous man heaps up money, which he neither uses himself, nor distributes for the use of others; but a liberal man, who amasses money, provides for his own wants, and gives it to him* who needs.

A learned man can be rightly appreciated only by another learned man,† and by no other person; as a barren woman cannot tell the pains of parturition.

* Christianity says, "Take heed, and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."—"Provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth." Luke, xii. 15. 33.

The following two concluding lines of one of Martial's Epigrams are well known and deservedly admired:

Extra fortunam est quidquid donatur amicis
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.—Ep. 43. lib. 5.

† Great sagacity is evinced in this remark. It is strikingly just; and I must own that I was much surprised to meet with it in these moral observations of the Singalese. No man, who does not know by experience the toils of literary research, and the travail of intellectual parturition, can estimate them as they ought. I have often remarked, with painful emotions, the flippant manner in which men talk of the more laborious exertions of the mind, and of the facility and promptitude with which they affect to determine that they may be produced. They have no congenial sympathy, no kind feeling for the man who has wearied his eyes, debilitated his nerves, and impaired his strength, by

A refined and elegant phraseology is thrown away on the earthy substance of coarse stupidity and lumpish ignorance. It is as unsuitable as it would be to bind a garland of roses round the neck of an ape.

The good which is done to bad men is often productive of injury, as the milk which is given to a snake is converted into poison.

If men will make a comparison between a bad man and a snake, they find that the former is the worse of the two. When a snake bites, a cure may be effected by medicine and regimen; but no one can convert a bad man into a good.

The sun rises in the east, and travels into the west, and great is the variation in the heat of his rays; but the word of a good man is not subject to instability or change.

A man of low origin, but of exalted sentiments and good life, ought to be treated as a relation; but a relation of base mind and profligate conduct should be considered as a stranger.

A woman who, in the management of her house, is gentle as a slave, who in understanding is fit for a counsellor, who in patience equals the earth, who in beauty rivals an Houry, who in the nuptial bed is like a ********, who in providing for the wants of her husband resembles an anxious mother—she who possesses all these qualifications is the perfection of her sex.

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keeping the mental faculties continually on the stretch. In fact, none but literary men can properly understand the nature, or estimate the effect, of literary toil. Ignorance cannot judge rightly, except by guess, and consequently by accident, upon any subject; but how is ignorance to criticize its opposite, to estimate the products of the higher or even the lower order of intellects; or to determine the difference between a wise man and a fool? Yet what is it but ignorance which is always accompanied with presumption, which in general appreciates the merit, and apportions the reward, of literary exertion?

The excavation which is made by the white ant, the honey which is collected by the bee, and the money which men acquire to distribute in charity, increase more and more every day.

If you make a bed in a garden of camphor mingled with musk, and sow it with garlic, though you pour over it a thousand pots of rose-water, the smell of the garlick will remain.

Ilaximi, or good fortune, dwells with those who speak truth; fame and a good name with those who have much knowledge. The arts dwell in a man of sagacity; wisdom is the characteristic of him who gives alms according to the degree of his prosperity.

The animosity of two persons shall be terminated when one of them dies. The beauty and youth of a woman shall vanish when she is the mother of children. The poverty of the poor shall be at an end when they shall learn to minister to the wants of each other.

A man who meets a carriage must go on one side of the road; he must keep five yards out of the way of a horse, and ten out of that of an elephant; but he should keep a thousand yards out of the path of a malicious man, and leave the neighbourhood where he dwells.

The power of a Brahmin is in his knowledge; of a woman in her beauty; of a soldier in his courage. The power of a devotee, or jogi, is proved by his avoiding covetousness and dissimulation.

Who has no corn is without money; who has no brothers is without power; who has no cow has nothing good to eat. Who has no son has no satisfaction.

Where a daughter is to be disposed of in marriage, the father seeks a wise man, and the mother a rich. Friends advise a man of rank and family; the bride desires a man of good person and agreeable behaviour.

Sickness is caused by water; sin by women; and destruction by depravity.

To marry two wives; to beg alms by the way; to sow corn in two villages; to become surety for another; or to be evidence for another; —to do these five things is to bring vexation upon one's self.

To conquer a fever a man must go without meat; to conquer his wife, he must learn to sleep alone; to become master of the law, he must study it for ever; to overcome his enemy, he must submit to his will, or minister to his wants.*

It is not good to play with another, whom you wish to preserve a friend, nor to put money in his hand, nor to go into his house when he is out of the way. He must observe these three things, who will preserve another for his friend.

He who is sympathizing and kind-hearted to the good, who makes them objects of preference; who, when he sees a bad man avoids his company, and who delights in those who fear God and work righteousness, is worthy of respect and reverence.

He who is born blind cannot distinguish the difference of precious stones. An impotent man cannot enjoy the intercourse of his wife. The crow cannot rival the beauty of the peacock. A barren woman cannot tell the pains of child-bearing. A poor man knows not the taste of good things. A dog cannot tell the magnanimity of a lion; nor can a fool taste the sweets of virtue.

* The Chinese philosophers assert, that the most wicked may be reclaimed by repeated obligations. Du Halde's China, I. 285. The Christian injunction is, Overcome evil with good. Cleobulus said "That we ought to do good to our friends to make them more friendly, and to our enemies to convert them into friends."—Diog Laert, Lib. I. Cap. IV.

The earth has its intervals of suspended vegetation. Flowers lose their bloom, and pleasures their zest. The low are exalted, and the high brought low. When the Brahmins cease to do good, they begin to do evil. Women despise their husbands. Children despise their parents. Hence vice and misery abound, and piety is banished from the haunts of human life.

A covetous man has no friends. A sensual man throws off reserve and shame. He who is seized with a thirst for wisdom, troubles himself not about what he shall eat nor where he shall repose. A man who has a strong feeling of hunger, goes not in quest of dainties; nor does he wait till the hour of his regular repast.

When a man promises any thing to another, he should perform what he undertakes with instantaneous alacrity. If he puts it off for a day, he ought to do three times as much as he promised to perform. If he puts it off for a month, he shall pay a hundred fold for the delay. If he puts it off for half a year, he ought to recompense the disappointment a thousand fold. But, if he does not perform his promise within a year, he shall go to hell.*

A bad man is found in vicious company. A hog wallows in the mire.

* Massinger, in his "Maid of Honour," says, "Speed doubles the benefit," which is a good rendering of the Latin maxim. "Bis dat qui cito dat." But the Greeks have an epigram on speedy benefits, as opposed to benefits long deferred, which expresses the sentiment with great beauty and truth.

> Ωκειαι χαριτες γλυκερωτεραι, ην δε βραδυνη
> Πασα χαρις κενεη, μηδε λεγοιτο χαρις.
> Sweet is the boon, which no delay attends;
> But tardy bounty only half befriends.

The following lines are in Ausonius,

> Gratia que tarda est in grataest; gratia namque
> Cum fieri properat, gratia grata magis.
>
> Ep. LXXXI.

But a good man delights only in what is gratifying to the mind and heart; just as if you set milk and water before a partridge, it will leave the water and drink the milk.

A man who is wise and learned, but without virtue, shall be despised.

The water of a well, the shadow of a walnut tree, the house of a poor man, and the bosom of a woman, are warm when it is cold, and cool and refreshing when it is hot.

A swine has seven or eight young at a time, an elephant one every twelve years, in order to afford delight to kings. In the same manner, where there is a good and fortunate son in a family, it is a great joy to the father in his old age.

With respect to money, there is trouble in the acquisition, trouble in the possession, trouble in the distribution, and trouble in the loss. Thus money is a source of trouble and woe.*

The Italians say,

"Dono molto aspettato, e venduto non donato.

The Singalese moralists appear very forcibly to have felt the cruelty of procrastination in the performance of promised favours or stipulated benefits; for they would not otherwise have condemned the offender to so severe a doom. It is certain that promises belong to the higher order of moral obligations, and the performance comes under that principle of equity, which withholds not from another what is his due, but gives to every man his own. What one individual has promised to another is no longer his own. The detention therefore beyond the necessity of the circumstances is a species of injustice. To put off the performance of a promise, where you have an opportunity of performing it, is the same as not paying a debt when it is due; and the injustice is aggravated by the cruelty of blasting hopes that you have caused to bloom, and of withering expectations, which you have nurtured into life.

* Juvenal says,

> Tantis parta malis cura majore metuque
> Servantur, misera est magni custodia census.
>
> Sat. XIV. 302, 3.

A man who is thoroughly vicious cannot be made good, as garlic will not lose its smell, though it is enveloped in perfume.

When calamity lowers, when poverty assails, in the pains of sickness, and in the perils of death, a wise man will not be cast down, nor be afraid.

When a pagoda is demolished, or a well filled up, when a king has lost his throne, when a cow has become lean, or a Brahmin poor, he, who restores these to their former state, shall have four times as much merit as the person to whom they first owed their former prosperity.

A man of good disposition shall reap no advantage from associating with an individual of a bad; but a good man shall be benefited by the company of another who is good; as the bee increases its sweets by visiting the flowers of the distant water-tank; but the toad, which dwells in the water-tank, cannot discriminate the scent of those flowers.

The ornament of a nightingale is its warbling voice; the ornament of a woman is modesty; the ornament of a Brahmin is erudition; the ornament of a supplicant is patience.

The scorpion has poison in its tail, the gnat has poison in its head, the snake has poison in its teeth, but a bad man has poison in his whole body.

The beauty of a woman is her bosom; the beauty of a scholar is his wisdom.

The tongue of a bad man is more destructive than the scorching heat of the sun, or the devouring flame of the fire.

The bloom of youth, beauty of person, and nobility of birth, where

the mind has not been cultivated, are only like the flower which the Malabars call muruco, that has no smell.

Good words are sweet to the ear, and gladdening to the heart; but a foul mouth excites loathing or contempt. When the nightingale sings all listen with delight, but when the ass brays we laugh at the noise.

Those who eat to excess, are the slaves of sensual gratification; and who do an injury to another, from the feeling of rancour* in the heart, are not far from the confines of the grave.

A father who neglects the payment of his debts when he dies, a mother who is a w——, a beautiful wife, or a son, who is a fool, are as enemies to human society.

Property, which is purchased with borrowed money, and money, which is obtined by treachery, shall soon pass away.

He who makes a careful provision against want, who rears a young calf, and lets it drink of the milk, who earns his subsistence by the labour of his hands, who ministers to the necessities of his friends, and keeps a bridle upon his tongue—of these five kinds of persons the posterity shall be multiplied.

If any accident befal the cattle of a Brahmin, he who rescues them from danger, though with the loss of his life, shall go through ten times ten thousand nativities as a Brahmin; and shall afterwards be received amongst the spirits in the realms above.

* The tendency of the malevolent passions is to wear the frame by perpetual inquietude, and to shorten the period of human life. The great Founder of Christianity acted as the best friend of man, even in a physical point of view, independently of all moral excellence and all future consequences, by the stress which he laid on the culture of the benevolent affections, and the pains which he took to encourage their growth in the sanctuary of his church.

An elephant is renowned for its strength; the light shines through the clouds; the darkness of the night is dispersed by means of the full moon. A woman is celebrated for her gentleness; a horse for its swiftness; a house for its hospitality; the tongue for its eloquence. A large meeting is adorned by the presence of a wise man; a family is elevated by means of a good son; all nature is illumined by the sun.

He who has a wife and three sons, two yoke of oxen, ten milch cows, and well-irrigated rice lands, in the middle* of a village, is a happy man.

* I suppose, from their greater security in that situation, from wild beasts and external depredators.

CHAP. LIII.

Some Singalese Proverbs, which are contained in the Book Wessakare Satake; or the Sayings of the Wise.

THE heart of a good and wise man can no more be excited to evil by the incentives of the wicked, than the ocean can be made hot by a brand or a torch.

The rich are not despised on account of their low origin; but the poor are held in no estimation, though their pedigree may tower to the moon.

The possessions which a man has amassed with anxious toil, shall not follow him to the grave, or be his companions in the sepulchre. The kind affections which he has excited, and the friends by whom he was beloved, may attend his remains to the confines of the tomb; but the good or the evil which he has done, shall alone be his fixed and inseparable associate after death.

A wicked man is as a sharp thorn, of which, if you break off the prickles, it can do no harm; and, if you hold no converse with the wicked, their power to corrupt is taken away.

Weigh well the difference of good and evil; and, after sober deliberation, do not do that to another which would be displeasing if done to yourself.

A vessel of water is filled by a succession of drops; and wisdom, virtue, and riches, are the effects of minute accumulation and unremitting perseverance.

A covetous man has two sources of inquietude,—first, how to amass money; and, secondly, how to use it.

The good which is done to a good man, however small it may be, shall not be forgotten, but remain engraved in the heart, like letters cut in marble; but the greatest good which can be done to a bad man, shall vanish from his thoughts like the track of a ship in the waters.

There is no greater friend than the knowledge which each person has of his own proper calling; there is no greater enemy than sickness; no greater love than that of one's own children; and no greater power than that which we have from God.

Avoid both the friendship and the enmity of the wicked; for his enmity is like a scorching fire, which burns those who come near it; and his friendship is like an extinguished cinder, which begrimes those by whom it is touched.

As a green and flourishing plant may be bent by the gardener, so may the wise be inclined by good arguments to be good; but no reasoning can alter the purpose of a fool; as a tough and stubborn tree may be broken, but cannot be bent.

The culture which men bestow upon the roots and the trunk of a tree, shall be repaid in the fruit which grows at the top; and what good men do in the earth beneath, shall be recompensed in heaven above.

The moon throws her light over the evil as well as the good, and men should be bountiful not only to the good but to the evil.

If you have lived for some time in a state of friendship with a bad man, consider him always as a snake coiled round your arm, and watching an opportunity to bite.

The time will come when the face will be furrowed with wrinkles, when the hair will turn grey, and the limbs become feeble; but the amiable qualities of mankind delight by the verdure of perpetual youth.

Though men are continually beholding the fall of the lofty, and the destruction of the great, yet some are no sooner elevated to wealth and power, than a dense darkness seems to cover their eyes; for which visual disease no better collyrium can be devised than a precipitation from their towering eminence to a low estate.

It is better to be deaf than to hear our actions the topic of merited reproach. Better is it to be blind, than to have our own unrighteousness stare us in the face. Better is it to be changed into a log or a stone, than to perpetrate murder, or any similar enormity. Better is it to be without understanding, than to employ it in contriving evil and perpetrating wickedness.

As an elephant, pushing against a huge rock with his teeth, is more likely to break his teeth than to move the rock; so a poor man can gain nothing by contending with a great.

When good is requited with evil, the good is changed into evil; as cold water is made hot by being set upon the fire.

Good precedes evil, and evil good; and thus good and evil amongst men are like the wheel of a carriage, that is perpetually turning round.

There are three things by which a man may know a fool: 1. He attempts to execute whatever he wills or conceives, without money or

means. 2. He wrestles without any strength in his limbs. 3. He disputes without knowledge or understanding.

There are four things by which a man may know a fool: 1. He goes into any one's house, to which he has no invitation, and where he has no business. 2. He prates incessantly, when he ought to hold his tongue. 3. He bestows praise on others when it is out of place. 4. He praises himself, where no praise is due.

Regard the wife of your neighbour as your own mother; the goods of another as a potsherd;* the life of another as your own: he who observes these rules shall hereafter be recompensed.

A kokila's (or nightingale's) beauty consists in her song; the beauty of a wife in her modesty; the beauty of a scholar in his knowledge; the beauty of a tapasserea, or teacher, in gentle benignity.

A man of noble birth, and interesting form, but who is not endowed with understanding, may be compared with an erebadugas, a certain tree, which bears a fine red flower, but without any smell.

It is not well with a beggar if he is not satisfied with what is set before

* That is, Do not covet the goods of another, any more than you would if they had no more value than a fragment of baked clay, or any thing the most worthless and contemptible. If we long and passionately desire what belongs to another, integrity will soon be corrupted at the very root; and the principle must finally give way to the force of such a constantly-operating temptation. What we violently desire, it will not be long before we attempt to procure; and when one single violation of probity has been perpetrated, who will say where the evil will end? Every species of injustice is a precipice, with few chances of escape; and perdition frowns beneath. Jesus affirmed, He that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much. The Latin poet says,

———de mille fabæ modiis cum surripis unum;
Damnum est, non facinus mihi pacto lenius isto.

him, nor with a king if his desires are not bounded by the territory he possesses. It is not well with a w—— if she is ashamed, nor with a modest woman if she is without shame.

That which is already done cannot be prevented; ponder well, therefore, what you are going to do; for, otherwise, the pangs of anguish will prey upon your soul.

The wise make perpetual additions to their stock of knowledge; but fools loiter, slumber, bicker, and fight.

Let not your speech be redundant or impertinent; do not love without well knowing the individual; do not be more angry than the occasion will justify, or threaten what you have not power to execute. The wise are known by the observance of these rules.

Do good though there should be no future state; for, though there may be no such state, still the good you do must be good rather than evil; but, if you do evil, it will prove a source of woe if there be a future state.

A king, in the exaltation of sovereign power, is not comparable to a man of transcendent wisdom; for, though a king may receive more homage within the territory over which his authority extends, yet a wise man receives the applause, and excites the respect of the whole world.

The sorrow, which a man feels from the consciousness of ignorance, is like the joy* of heaven.

* It is a sorrow of this kind which often generates an unextinguishable thirst for the acquisition of knowledge; and, therefore, though it be sorrow for the time, it is soon converted into the joy of higher intelligences in brighter spheres.

The rich have little trouble,* the beneficent find nothing difficult† to perform. The country of the learned is in every region of the globe. The eloquent convert their enemies into their friends.

These persons are not formed for the acquisition of knowledge—the dull, the sickly, the sluggard, and the voluptuary.

Of the good or the evil which befals us, we ought not to ascribe the origin to this person or to that; for nothing can befal us which is not from God.

When the good are precipitated into indigence, they ought not to suffer their integrity to be shaken, but to preserve it as immoveable as a column of adamant.

There is poison in a serpent, but there is more venom in a wicked man; for there are remedies for the one, but there is no cure for the other.

* "Little trouble" about procuring the means of subsistence, in procuring which the majority of mankind are so anxiously occupied. The accumulations of wealth are principally to be desired for the means of beneficence which they afford, and the leisure for intellectual improvement which they procure. The more property there is in a country, the more full and deep may be, and ought to be, the reservoir of charity for every species of human woe; and, at the same time, the greater number of individuals may be exonerated from the more laborious corporeal occupations and employments, to devote themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and the enlargement of science. If no individual had more than enough for his own wants, we should be on the verge of barbarism. In proportion as property is augmented and diffused, we escape from the dreary horizon of savage wretchedness, and pass into the sunny region of civilization, of literature, and of joy.

> Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
> Purpureo.

† "Nothing difficult to perform;" for beneficence conciliates zealous friends and grateful auxiliaries. I say nothing about the moral government of the Deity, which I firmly believe to be so arranged as to let no kind action go without its appropriate recompense, either here or hereafter. I have always admired the beautiful scripture sentiment—"He who throws his bread on the waters (of charity), shall find it after many days."

He who has his conversation with the beasts of the field, must eat grass; and he who associates with the wicked shall not find any benefit in their intercourse.

A kind-hearted man makes the little he possesses contribute to the benefit of others, as a well supplies water to him who needs; while a selfish man, out of his abundance, relieves no want, and ministers to no suffering, but is as voracious as the depths of the ocean.

Diligence, in the beginning, is like an enemy; but it is afterwards converted into a friend. On the other hand indolence, which is like a friend in the beginning, proves an enemy in the end. Diligence, at the commencement, may be the poison of delight, though it afterwards becomes the nectar of joy; but indolence, which resembles nectar at first, turns to poison at last.

The air is the region of birds, and the water of fish; the king is the refuge of the poor, and children find protection in their cries.*

The river produces a variety of fish and flowers; but though they proceed from the same water, they have a different taste and smell.

Learning which is abused degenerates into folly. More food than is necessary is difficult of digestion. An old man, who is married to a young wife, is full of inquietude.

Out of ten men you shall find one that is brave; out of a hundred, one that is learned; but, out of a thousand learned, only one who is eloquent.

* Whose heart does not melt at the sight of infancy in agony, and of youth in tears? The strength of a child is in the sympathy it excites.

CHAP. LIV.

Short Lessons and Moral Maxims of the Singalese and Malabars, taken from the Malabar Book, Connevendam.

BE zealous in doing acts of charity.
Learn to command your anger.
Be not negligent* in what you are about.
Do not divulge all that you know.
Be not prodigal of your money.
Despise not the knowledge of reading or arithmetic.
To be devout is to be humble.
When you eat, think of the poor.†
Think not lightly of a conformity to the customs of those with whom you live.
Neglect not the habit of prayer.
Avoid filthy talking.
Diminish not aught of the stipulated recompense.
Do not mention all that you see.
Be contented with what you have.
Weigh well your words, and avoid ambiguity of expression.

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* What you do, do with all your might. Do not suffer your attention to be diverted from that by which it ought, at the time, to be engaged. Intellectual proficiency, and indeed success, in general, in whatever we undertake depend very much upon the observance of this rule. A flitting, desultory occupation of the mind may not be so unproductive as vacancy of mind; but it is almost as abortive with respect to great attainments or to solid benefit.

† This would be a short grace, but could there be a better? Where I was at schcol, the master's grace used to be "Benedictus benedicat," which breathes a similar sentiment, and impresses, even in the social hour, a devout remembrance of those who are in want. The Latinity may be rather ecclesiastical than Ciceronian, but the maxim is worthy of its origin in the Christian school. "Whoso hath this world's goods and seeth that his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

Do not build a great house.
Keep company with the good.
Cherish your father and mother.
Forget not a good action.
Sow, plant, and reap, in the proper season.
In the administration of justice spurn a bribe.
Do not attempt what you cannot execute.
Do not play with a snake.
Sleep not on a bed of down.
Be not bitter in your speech.
Do nothing which is unseemly.
Learn when you are young.
Forget not the mother who fondled you at her breast.
Indulge not in much sleep.
Do no injustice.
Cherish the spirit of prayer.
Seek peace all your life long.
Abstain from evil.
Despise not your condition.
Desert not those whom you have engaged to befriend.*
Shrink even from the semblance of injustice.
Attend to every thing that is worthy of observation.
Have no fellowship with men of bad principles.
Covet not the gains of iniquity.
Praise not yourself.
Be patient.
Hold fast your integrity.
Indulge not in severity of reproof, or acrimony of invective.
Forget not your native land.

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* Perform the promises you have made, and disappoint not the expectations you have excited. Where expectations have been deliberately excited, they assume, in a moral point of view, the sacred nature of promises; and the performance is an act of similar obligation. People are too apt to be inconsiderate in their professions of friendship; but no friendship should be professed where it is not really felt; and where it has been professed and confidence has consequently been reposed, it should not be lightly or capriciously relinquished. If we strip friendship of its inviolable sanctity and reduce it to the common level of casual acquaintanceship, we take from human life one of those ingredients which is best fitted to sweeten the cup of human woe. A man's enmities should be ephemeral, but his friendships should be immortal. His animosities should vanish with the setting sun; but his kind affections should last for ever and ever.

Say nothing that is prejudicial to another.
Abstain from throwing the dice.
Whatever you do, do with all your might.
Know the principles of those with whom you associate.
Abstain from turning another into ridicule.
Lend no ear to the tales of detraction.
Have no acquaintance with a sluggard.
Conduct yourself like an honourable man.
Shew submission and reverence to the supreme God.
Forsake not those whom you have caused to rely on you for support.
Oppose the progress of iniquity.
Do not give way to despondency.
Punish with equity and moderation.
Be not induced to scoff by the forbearance of the Deity.
Live peaceably with your neighbours.
Give no ear to licentious women.
Never forget a benefit received.
Do not begin that which you see no likelihood of bringing to a conclusion.
Be steadfast in well-doing.
Conform to the customs of the country in which you live.
Forsake not the land of your fathers.*
Play not in the water.
Speak softly or deliberately.
Learn a variety of arts.
Let integrity be the rule of your conduct.

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* This is a text, on which many wholesome homilies might be preached in the present day. The cosmopolite, who affects that his country is the world, that is, who has no heart in any country under heaven, may pretend that it is a mere prejudice to love the land of our fathers, and to venerate the sod that covers the ashes of our progenitors;—but my philosophy was never of that cast; for, even if the love of country were a prejudice, if all the patriotic sentiments were only delusions, still this prejudice, and these delusions are productive of so much good, and contribute so much to augment the sum of social enjoyment, that I should wish them for ever to be nurtured by our education, and invigorated by our habits, to be cherished, like our fondest sympathies, when we are young, that they may cling to our bosoms with an inseparable tenacity when we are old. My bosom approves the exulting glow of the Lacedemonian, when he exclaimed—

Σπαρτα μοι Σπαρτα κυδιανειρα πατρις;

And I would wish every Englishman to think of his native Albion with the same generous transport, the same enthusiastic preference.

Do no bad works.
Let no unbecoming or obscene words proceed out of your mouth.
Do not favour the production of sickness by excess.
Be not the organ of tale-bearing or calumny.
Have no intercourse with the perfidious.
Be not busy in criticising other men's lives or in detecting other men's faults.
Persevere without fear.
Spare no pains in tilling your land.
Honour the great when they are good, but respect the good when they are not great.
Throw off the tyranny of care.
A good life is the earnest of endless good.
Praise that which is praiseworthy.
Be not variable and inconstant in your friendships or your principles.
Do not offer any opportunity of triumph to your enemies.
Be not loquacious.
Eat not voraciously.
Stand not in any man's way.
Be not the familiar companion of the irascible.
Cherish the friendship of the virtuous.
Listen to the words of the wise.
Set not your foot in a brothel.
Speak considerately and distinctly.
Control your lusts.
Let your words be without dissimulation.
Be not hasty in betting.
When your means are good, and your purpose is just, let nothing shake your resolution.
Treat no man despitefully.
Make no enemies.
Waste neither the evening nor the morning in the luxury of sleep.
In doing your duty aim at perfection.*

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* In the assemblage of sagacious remarks and wholesome admonitions in the three preceding chapters, as well as in that which immediately follows, I have in general faithfully preserved the sense of the original, though I have in a few instances unravelled the knotty tissue of the sentiment in order to render it more plain to the understanding. I have, at the same time, taken great pains to transplant their various beauties into the English idiom. How far I have succeeded the reader must determine.

CHAP. LV.

Sayings of a Female Sage.

OUR father and mother are our first acquaintance when we come into the world.

It is a good thing to erect buildings for the worship of God.

There is no beneficence more meritorious than that which a man shews to his own household.

He, who gives grudgingly, shall be taught better by adversity.

To eat little is good for the health of the body.

To quarrel with one's fellow-citizens is the way to perdition.

Grammar and arithmetic are as precious as both the eyes.

To do what is commanded is like medicine to the sick.

Do not lightly forsake him whom you have engaged to befriend.

The works of a religious man are to do good, and to teach others to do it.

He, who does not abstain from evil-speaking, shall mar his fortune.

Be diligent in improving your condition.

Filthy speaking does not become the mouth of a virtuous man.

It is a glorious sight to behold a woman of invincible fidelity.

Do not let the mind dwell on what you cannot obtain.

Use plain language with plain men.

He, who is busy in criticising the faults of his friends, has no friendship in his heart.

He, who is sagacious and diligent, seldom fails of his purpose.

Depart from him who gives you bad advice.

To listen to good counsel, and to put it in practice, is like laying up riches.

Wisdom in the mind is better than money in the hand.

The friendship of the great is succour in the time of need.

An informer, or tale-bearer, is like the blast, that kindles the fire and spreads the flame.

If you pronounce against justice, you will have every one your enemy.

The beauty of children consists in their obedience.

The great and rich should be in the place of parents to the lowly and the indigent.

He who can govern his anger is more eminent in the moral scale than all the devout.

Attend to the culture of the earth before you think of personal decoration.

Do not give your friends reason to suspect the sincerity of your friendship.

Litigation and gaming bring many to want.

He, who thinks of benefits received, will forget an injury done.*

A good name is better than any thing else.

Though you have but little still be thankful to God.

He who is happy is rich enough.

He who follows idleness shall find it the path to distress.

What sanctuary merits more confidence than our mother's breast?

The death of a good wife is as if all a man's substance were consumed by fire.

Immoderate sorrow causes great mischief.

A proud woman brings distress upon her family.

If God be with you all harm shall keep away.

He whose expences are greater than his receipts shall come to poverty at last.

It is better to earn your bread by the sweat of your brow than to be dependant on another man.

Use not violent reproof and bitter expostulations with your friends.

Disunion occasions embarrassment.

As long as you live at peace with your neighbours you have no injury to apprehend.

He, who is perpetually finding fault, is not heeded at last; as the water-snake in the fields is habitually seen till it ceases to be feared.

Do not build a house where good water is not to be had.

Do not act without deliberation.

Let the wise and the good be the objects of your reverence.

No deception exceeds that which is found in the human heart.

That prayer is good which is breathed from the soul.

Do not forsake the truth though it should cost you your life.

A liar is never esteemed.

The righteous fast is that which restrains our appetites and vanquishes our lusts.

The industry of a man is seen in his cultivation of the earth.

Live on good terms with your wife.

Where there is depravity and malice there is neither friendship nor benevolence.

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* One injury will, sometimes, obliterate the sense of many benefits; but this is to suffer one resentful feeling to vanquish numerous claims to benevolent regard. The mind should never be suffered to dwell upon injuries; but it should never cease to make benefits the subject of tender recollection. The principle of gratitude, which is one of the most lovely ramifications of the great trunk of benevolence, would thus repress the growth of every adverse sentiment. According to the admonition of the poet, benefits should be written in marble, but injuries in the dust.

Do not grieve your father and mother by vicious conversation.
Inconstancy of mind is the characteristic of woman.
When you make a long journey, find a place of rest before the sun goes down.
Do not fix your heart upon any thing that is vicious.
Though you have but little do not neglect the offices of friendship.*
Where there is no rain there can be no harvest.
Thunder and lightning go before rain.
The rock makes the pilot.†
The conversation of the wicked is a fountain of mischief.
Men sleep well when the mind is at ease.
To earn your bread by the sweat of your brow is a praise-worthy act.
Keep your hands from the bosom of harlots.
Let what you say be distinct and clear.
There is no greater enemy than sensual excess.
Be on your guard against the blandishments of women.
A disbelief in futurity nips the buds of beneficence.
A passionate man has neither moderation nor constancy.
A generous mind will not ask alms.
It is a glorious thing when wisdom is associated with affluence.
The upright escape the regrets of a bad conscience.
Let no station make you forget God.

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* No circumstances can justify a cold-hearted selfishness. The sympathies of friendship and of love may flourish in the most inclement atmosphere, and in the most rugged soil; and he, in whose bosom they are not found, however he may be wanting in wealth, is more wanting in humanity. The excuses which men make for omissions of beneficence, are very multiform and various; but they all usually resolve themselves into a narrow selfishness, however they are coloured over with hues of different character.—One man excuses himself by his present needs; another by his future apprehensions. One is too sensual to have any thing to spare; another is too provident not to be more affected by the most remote contingencies which refer to himself, than by the most pressing wants of his kindred or acquaintance. One man has numerous sons and daughters; and his heart is a frozen surface to the touch of distressed relatives and indigent friends. He does not consider that, though it is a bounden duty to provide for sons and daughters, yet those sons and daughters are only self under another name; and that he who confines all his beneficence to their exclusive good, may still be the most selfish of human beings. Beneficence is not pure and holy till it passes the region of self; and instead of being restricted in its activity to a man's own family, steps over the threshold, and scatters blessings amongst neighbours and friends.

† A dangerous navigation makes dexterous seamen. Difficulties cause excellence; they exercise sagacity and elicit skill.

In the four preceding chapters, which contain the moral lessons and ancient proverbs of the Singalese, the reader will, I feel confident, be impressed with the good sense, the prudential sagacity, and, in many instances, the sound piety, which pervade the remarks of these idolatrous heathens. Though in many of their religious ceremonies and speculative opinions, they are oppressed by the most degrading superstition, yet no perversion of reason, no obliquity of judgment, no want of discrimination or sagacity, are found in the notions which some of their sages have displayed on the relative duties of life; and on those actions and habits which it becomes men most to practise and to cultivate for their own good, as well as for that of the community to which they belong. Some, indeed, of their remarks are equally distinguished by the truth, the beauty, and the energy of the sentiment. I believe that they are now exhibited for the first time in our vernacular idiom; and, as proverbs constitute no small part of the moral wisdom of nations, I trust that I have rendered no unacceptable service to my countrymen, by having naturalised these Singalese exotics amongst the popular stock of our moral literature.

CHAP. LVI.

Offices, Casts, and miscellaneous Particulars.

CORAAL. A coraal * is the overseer or president of a corle, or county, who has two, three, or four attacoraals under him, according to the size of the corle, which is sometimes divided into three or four pattus, or districts. He has, moreover, from six to eight lascaryns, pamideas, or messengers, subject to his orders. The attacoraals are to see that the commands of the coraal are duly executed.

Cariacoranno, or the majoraals, may be denominated the bailiffs of a village. They vary from one or two to six or more, according to the size, culture, and population of the village.† It is their business to attend to the payment of the annual imposts; to see that the land is sowed

* I follow the authority of Valentyn in these names and explanations. Some changes may have taken place in the interior administration of the provinces: but, as I intend this work not merely to gratify the curiosity of persons in this country, but of those Englishmen who are resident in Ceylon, I did not think it right to omit any thing which tends to throw light on the past as well as the present state of the island. I have preserved most of the names as they are found in Valentyn; and I thought this better than to make any alterations, which might be less agreeable to the genius and pronunciation of the Singalese. I regret my ignorance of the last-mentioned language, as it might probably have enabled me to render this work much less imperfect, and even to have corrected errors, into which I may have been inadvertently led by my authorities.

† In a part of Valentyn's work, entitled, " Extract uyt de Consideratien van de Heer van Rheede over Ceylon, &c." dated in the year 1677, which contains a great deal of valuable information relative to the state of the island at that time, it is said that a gamma, or village, is composed of several hamlets; a pattu, or district, of several villages; a corle, or county, of several pattus; and a dessaveny, or province, of several corles.

and the harvest got in at the proper time; and, along with other services which the locality may suggest, to render a good account to the lord or proprietor of the soil. When the lord visits the village, it is their duty to take care that he is provided with suitable lodgings, that his apartment is hung with white calico, and his stool covered with the same. It is, at the same time, part of their office to furnish him twice a day with adreckes, or ready-dressed victuals, and with peyndus, or undressed victuals, as the lord shall appoint, and for as many days as has been customary, or is compatible with the size and resources of the village. These majoraals are of five denominations, of which one is of somewhat more consideration than the rest. They are—hitihamis, japamis, pati rannearu, gamneralearu, vitarannearu.

Lianno is the same as the clerk or scribe of the village, who keeps an account, which he gives to the lord, of all the products and dues of the village.

Canganeme. This officer musters the people of the village, and calls them together when there is any work to be done.

Mananna, a measurer of grain. When the harvest has been got in, it is his business to measure out that grain which is a common stock to the different proprietors. He was also particularly to measure the corn that was due as a rent or impost to the king.

Gamhewaja. A village lascaryn, who, at the orders of the vidaan of the village, calls the people together, and goes from house to house to announce on what day they are to meet.

Haindes. These execute the work that is to be done in a village; and work, by turns, for the king or the proprietor.

Coolies. Porters of all kinds of burdens and goods, and bearers of

the palanquins. These coolies* are of the cast or race of the vellalas, who sprang up in the time of the Portuguese. Before their time there were no coolies among the vellalas, but only among the inferior casts.

The King SURIEVANKSE. This denotes that he is a descendant of the sun, or of Vigea Raja, the first King of Ceylon, the fabulous origin of whose family has already been described.

The cast Karawo, or that of the fishermen, comprises the following subdivisions:

1. Karawo.
2. Barudel-karawo.
3. Dandu-karawo.
4. Moru-karawo.
5. Kespe-karawo.
6. Kadul-karawo.
7. Tock-keulo.
8. Godo-keulo.
9. Indimal-keulo.

These nine subdivisions of the karawos have each their peculiar kind of fishing instruments; and each is obliged to adhere to his own, according to ancient custom.

KARAWO, are the principal fishermen, out of whom they appoint their chiefs according to their intrepidity and enterprise. There are amongst them modeliaars, mohamdirans, araatsjes, kangenys, and other officers of considerable importance. They may go out to sea with their nets, but must not fish either with rod or line.

* In the considerations of Vander Rheede, it is said to be part of the duty of the coolies to carry the various products belonging to the lord out of the field to the storehouse or granary, which no one else is bound to do, and this they perform for no other recompense than a portion of rice.

Barudel-karawo. These may not make use of casting nets, which they call barudel or wisudel, either in the sea or the rivers.

Dandu-karawo. These may fish in the sea only with an angling rod, which they make of the bamboo.

Moru-karawo. These employ nets made of hemp in catching scate (squalus), from which they extract an oil. They subsist by the sale of this, and are not permitted to take any other kind of fish.

Kespe-karawo, who subsist by the tortoises (schildpadden), which they catch with a large net.

Cadul-karawo make the sails of their fishing boats of a dark red colour, which they extract from the bark of the cajou-tree.

Tock-keulo. These are not permitted to launch into the sea, or to frequent the salt water at the mouths of rivers. They fish with a peculiar kind of net, of which they are restricted to the use.

Godo-keulo may not fish in the ocean, but at the mouths of rivers, or in inlets of the sea. Their fishing-tackle is also of a peculiar construction, which is minutely described in Valentyn.

Indimal-keulo, manufacture lines and nets from the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, which they sell to the fishermen. They catch fish in the rivers with baskets and little nets. On their annual festival they are not permitted to make use of the flowers or majang of the cocoa-nut tree, but only of the date, which they call Indimal.

These three last species of fishermen constitute the lowest casts among them, with whom the rest may neither eat nor form any connexion.

The highest classes or ranks of fishermen participate in the privileges of the vellalas. The washermen are under an obligation to wash their clothes. On their solemn festival, they may spread a white cloth where they eat, cover the stool on which they sit with white, and hang the apartment with the same. They may also carry a torch or flambeau, which they term dawalpandam. They also display a white flag, with the device of a particular fish in the centre, and this distinction the higher ranks reserve to themselves, and do not permit to their inferiors. These fishermen may carry an umbrella of the tallipot, and within their own lands are allowed to have white calico spread before their feet. They have military officers amongst their number, and some may fill the place of adigar if they have merited it by their conduct. They are honoured by the king with different titles, according to their offices; and are carried in palanquins, while little drums are beat on the way, with other circumstances of ceremonious parade.

The cast of chiandos, or duravos, has ten subdivisions, each of which has its peculiar occupations, and differs more or less in rank from the rest.

1. Magul duravo, who are employed in catching, or in taming elephants; also as lascaryns, and in offices of other kinds.

2. Nattanbovo are a degree lower than the first, but with few points of discrimination.

3. Niello, carry the knives, or instruments of their trade, fastened with a cord round the waist, as also the vessel in which they put the toddy they collect. They wear a little bell about the middle, in order to give notice to the cast of vellalas to avoid passing under the tree of which they are at the top.

4. Usanno. These who are also drawers of toddy, besides performing the offices of the niellos, and wearing a little bell about the middle, serve as coolies to carry burthens.

5. Weedy. These are a degree lower than the last.

6. Cottu. A still inferior gradation; but when Valentyn wrote, he says there were none either of these or of the preceding subdivision upon the island.

7. Cutang wolle-etto. In this class both the men and women are dancers, kept for the pagodas, but who exhibit their skill in other places where they are ordered.

8. Arambeo. Dancers exclusively appropriated to the service of the pagoda.

9. Ackerammo. Manufacturers of rope, or thread, from the bark of the cocoa-nut. They also serve to blow the bellows in the smith's forge; to hammer the metal, and to assist in other works.

10. Agunmady. These are not held in the same estimation as the preceding classes. None of the rest will eat, or have any intercourse with them. They play on a sort of globular instrument, or drum, which they hold in one hand and beat with the other.

The two first subdivisions of this cast of chiandos have the privilege of using white* linen, or calico, and have an addealanchody, or flag, with a red lion represented in the middle of a white ground, with other distinctions, from which their inferiors are debarred.

Navandannajo, or artificers, who, though performing different handicraft operations, constitute only one cast in rank. Half of them may display hangings of white calico at their festivals, and carry a flag with the device of an ape, called anumanta.

Achiary, smiths; baddallo, silversmiths; wadduwo, carpenters; liane waduwo, turners; ridiceto ancarao, inlayers of gold and silver; adatketeancarao, workers in ivory and cabinet-makers; galwaduwo, stone-cut-

* Knox says, p. 131, "The signs of higher or meaner ranks, are wearing of doublets, or going bare-backed without them; the length of their cloth below their knees; their sitting on stools, or on blocks, or mats spread on the ground, and in their caps."

ters; ratneenderecarao, jewellers; iwaduwo, arrow-makers; sittereo, painters; lacuruwo, smelters.—These artificers eat together, and intermarry with each other.

Hannalio, tailors, who work for the lord of the land. The washermen wash for them, but do not eat with them. They do not enjoy the privilege of white linen without the permission of the king.

Hommaru, shoemakers. Of these, Valentyn says, there are none at this time in Candy.

Ambetteo, shavers or barbers. One of them must always accompany the lord of the land. The washermen wash for them, but do not eat with them; but they have the privilege of white linen.

Cubello, potters; are attached to the pagodas and villages, and must furnish earthen vessels for the lord. They have their dureas, or overseers; and pay a personal, or poll-tax, called deccum. The washermen wash for them, but do not eat with them; and they have not the privilege of white linen.

Weenawo, elephant-catchers. They follow the track of these animals, drive them into the snare, and put them to death in any perilous emergency. The washermen wash for them, but eat not with them, nor have they the privilege of white linen.

Haly or chialias, cinnamon peelers. The washermen do not wash for them; but they have others, called hinnevo, who are employed for this purpose. They have not the honour of white linen.

Hangarema, who make sugar from the sap of the palm, or borassus flabelliformis. The hinnevos wash for them, and they are excluded from the privilege of white linen.

Hunno or chinambero, lime-burners; the head of whom, or the hunu-dewea, usually plasters the walls, and superintends the rest. Some of them white wash the house of the lord once or twice a week. They are also to furnish purified lime, for chewing with the areca nut, or betel leaf.

Deccum carao. These, who pay an annual poll-tax, have to keep up the lime furnace, to supply fuel, and to tend it till the process is finished. They do not possess the privilege of wearing white linen; and the cast of the pallys wash for them.

Hunu kattanno, are employed in felling trees in the woods, and in procuring fuel for the lime-kilns.

Hunugambadu, are peasants, who fodder and take care of the cattle, and have a particular durea, or superintendent. The coolies who dwell in the villages belong to this cast.

Rodawo,* are washermen, who are obliged to wash for the superior casts, and also for the caraos and chiandos, with whom they eat; though they also wash for the tailors, potters, and shavers, but they must not eat with these, nor go to their festivals. They do not enjoy the privilege of white linen, and they wash for themselves. Amongst the washers are painters, who pay deccum, or a poll-tax.

Berreways, tablinjenos, or tom-tom players, amongst whom there are dancers, lime-burners, mowers, and deccum-caraos,† who have their manquedams, or superintendents, whom they denominate ulewalia. They do not eat with the low casts; and are distributed through the villages. They do not enjoy the honour of white linen; and the pallys wash for them.

* Knox calls them ruddaughs:

† Payers of an annual poll-tax.

Heeri. These have their vidane, or chief. Their office is to fell all kinds of trees, to carry the ammunition in war, and to act as pioneers in clearing the way. They do not enjoy the honour of white linen; and a particular cast, called gangavo, wash for them.

Olias, are dancers, who provide the lord with oil for burning in the night, and keep his mansion clean during the day. They also assist in tending the elephants. They have not the honour of white linen, and the gangavos wash for them.

Pally, wash for the lime-burners abovementioned and, like the four following casts, constitute a degraded and despised race.

Hinnivo, are washers for the cast of chialias, abovementioned. They also provide green food for the elephant stalls.

Gangavo, wash for the casts heeri and olias.

Paduvo, have amongst them payers of the poll-tax, lascaryns and coolies, who carry palanquins.

Palleru, banditti or free booters, who live in woods or caverns.

Hiene Jaty and Antere Jaty, two casts of the lowest order, not reckoned amongst the rest, and more despised than all the rest. The first of these two casts, who are sometimes called kinneas, weave fine mats, with which they pay their deccum or poll-tax. The second, who are at other times denominated rodias, are the lowest of all in rank, have no vidanes or heads. They dwell in a sort of low cabins, without walls or supports, but the roof resting on the ground. They eat dead animals, and make ropes of the hides of cows and buffaloes, of which they form snares to catch elephants, &c. They may not wear the smallest rag of white linen on their heads, and must tie up their hair in a bunch at the top.

Mantris, counsellors: they give advice in affairs of importance, and on other occasions, are next in the government to the king, on whose death one of the mantris conducts the government for the son if he is a minor; and, if there be no heir, he acts as regent with the rest of the counsellors, till another king is appointed. From these mantris they take their priests, those who minister in their pagodas, their doctors, surgeons, teachers, prophets, astrologers, and devotees.

Walinde or chittys, traders or merchants. In the diverse matters of purchase or sale, a chitty is called in, who is bound on all occasions to traffic for the king. Of these chittys there are four divisions or classes, who deal in different commodities.

The chittys trade in all kinds of drugs, linen, and domestic utensils.

The caver chittys deal in gold and silver, which they assay and estimate.

The comety chittys deal in fruits, grain, vegetables, and ready-dressed eatables.

The waligi chittys deal in all kinds of corals, in rings, bracelets, and metallic ornaments.

These four kinds of traders, says Valentyn, speak the same language and employ the same characters. They were not originally natives of Ceylon, but came over from the opposite coast. They do not eat or intermarry with each other, or at least the higher class with the lower, except in cases where money intervenes to compensate the disparity of rank. But the lower casts are well content to eat with the higher, and to marry their daughters.

Gowi or vellalas. These two words, the first of which is Singalese, and the other Malabar, both mean a cultivator of land. There are se-

veral subdivisions of this cast, of which the four principal are the following:

The epithet handaeruvo or hondrew, meaning honourable or immaculate, is sometimes added to the name.

1. Bandares or adassing, are those who appear at court as dukes, counts, or princes of the royal family.
2. Mantriunu, who officiate at court as supreme or privy counsellors to the king.*
3. Maendellyperu. These consist principally of military officers, modeliars, adigars, and dessaves.
4. Gowiperu; include both military persons and cultivators of the land.

Besides the above, there are still nine other sorts of vellalas, whose duty it is to perform different services for the king, both at court and in the country.

1. Wanneweddas; hunters, or persons living in the woods, of whom there are two sorts; one wearing leaves about the body, and the other the bark of a tree made soft for the purpose. Their houses are principally formed of the leaves of trees. Some of them were subject to the Dutch Company, and they paid an annual tribute of elephants with teeth. They eat the flesh of the elk, the deer, &c. which they preserve in honey in the hollow of a tree Their principal property consists of their bows and arrows. When they want a fresh supply of arrows, they take as much iron as is necessary, with a pattern of the arrow which they want, and lay it at night before the smith's door, along with a haunch of the elk or the deer. They then wait three or four days, till they think the work is done; when they return by night to the same place; and, if they find the arrows ready, they leave another portion of venison, and

* These appear to constitute a class of the mantris mentioned above.

go away without saying a word to any body. But, if the smith does not comply with their wishes, they spare no pains to make him repent of his neglect.

2. Diegaranno, are those who collect precious stones from the beds of rivers and torrents.

3. Mallaccarao, supply the court daily with flowers.

4. Dalae murecarao, furnish betel and areca.

5. Hunkiricarao, supply the court daily with milk.

6. Dadeweddas, hunters, or procurers of game.

7. Goddegarranno, who turn up the soil in search of precious stones.

8. Batgamwella Etto, are those who sow the seed in the royal domains.

9. Gombaducarao are peasants, who attend the cows, and supply the king with grain and other articles.

These numerous subdivisions constitute only one cast of vellalas; but the superiors, who are only a degree higher than the rest, will not eat with the inferior members at their festivals, or on other occasions, nor permit them to have their daughters in marriage; though money, as has been previously intimated, will sometimes alter their sentiments with respect to matrimonial connexions. They sow and mow,* and the principal difference between them consists in the offices which they have at court, and about the person of the sovereign.

In cases of a coronation, the crown was put upon the king's head by four persons of the four principal casts.

Valentyn mentions the following officers as existing in his time under the dessave of Matura.

* Knox says, p. 192, " Husbandry is the great employment: in this the best men labour; nor is it held any disgrace, for men of the greatest quality to do any work, either at home, or in the field, if it be for themselves, but to work for hire with them, is reckoned for a great shame; and very few are here to be found that will work so; but he that goes under the notion of a gentleman, may dispense with all works, except carrying, for carrying is accounted the most slave-like work of all."

1. The vice or deputy dessave, who had then the name of adigar, took care that every thing which the dessave ordered should be performed, and whom he acquainted with every thing that occurred. He attended to the interest of every part of the country, taking care that no one should suffer by the oppression of the inferior chiefs. This adigar was also to take care of all dues imposed for the service of the lord.

2. Modeliar has a meaning similar to that of captain. He was at the head of three or four nantches, or companies of lascaryns, each of which companies consisted of one aratsche, two canganes, and twenty-four lascaryns or soldiers, who were always to be ready for service, and to relieve each other at intervals of fourteen or thirty days.

3. Mohotirales, or mahatiars, certain writers, of whom there were four under the dessave of Matura. The attepatte mahatiar was continually present with the dessave, to whom he officiated as secretary, copying all olas or papers, letters, decrees, and ordinances.

The attepatte mahatiar was to keep an account of the pay or support allotted to the officers and lascaryns, with that of the artificers in the province of Matura, to register what each of them received from the lord, and the free perwenies which they possessed by inheritance. The other mahatiars had their peculiar offices, and were employed in collecting portions of the taxes or revenue. New mahatiars were appointed every year by the dessave, in order to prevent collusion in their conduct, and keep a check upon their proceedings.

4. Tupairale, or the interpreter of the dessave of Matura, who made him acquainted with the complaints and interests of the inhabitants.

5. Apohamis. This properly designated no office, but the descendants of black chiefs, who were named apohamis. They were attendants at the court, and some of them were put at the head of two companies of lascaryns.

6. Mohamdirams are chiefs over companies of lascaryns. They serve as a guard, and must take the field wherever they are commanded.

7 Badde corene, or cornerale. This officer is under the adigar. He is at the head of two companies of lascaryns, performs guard, and is en-

tirely subject to the orders of the adigar. He is to be always ready to march along with his men at a moment's notice, whenever their services may be required.

8. Aratsche resembles a serjeant, each having one company of lascaryns under him, while they are at the same time under their respective officers.

9. Canganys, corporals under the aratsches.

10. Lascaryns, soldiers who receive support, and are to be always ready to serve under their chiefs.

The king was the acknowledged lord of the soil, which he distributed in portions to the inhabitants, to descend by inheritance, and to be held as fiefs. Every man had enough allotted for his support; but for which he was bound to perform certain services, and the obligation was limited by the possession.

The king gave away no lands, without reserving to himself some seignorial rights or tokens of proprietorship, which he received every year under different names, and in the form of tributary acknowledgments.

Tupely are pieces of white linen, which are spun by the wives and children of the higher casts, and manufactured by the Singalese weavers. An impost of this kind was annually paid to the king by persons of the greatest consideration, who, doing homage to his majesty, made him a new tender of their obedience and services, as if they were going for the first time to receive their fiefs.

Angebadde are the poll-taxes, which the lower casts paid to the king. Each individual of these casts was liable to this imposition from the age of fifteen to sixty; and, besides this, they were obliged to furnish certain

* Valentyn, p. 268, from the Considerations on Ceylon by Vander Rheede.

portions of iron, sugar, and cinnamon. But the cinnamon-peelers paid no pecuniary tax, but provided a certain portion of cinnamon free of expense, and another portion at a certain price.

Wattabadea, is a tax upon the land, or upon the cocoa or areca-nut trees, according to the numbers they contain.

Pollee, is an impost upon the fruit trees, which is collected three times in the year, and does not altogether amount to a tenth of the produce. But little equality is said to have been observed in the original imposition of this tax, and one place paid much more than another. Of the taxes called otto and anda, the first amounted to the tenth sheaf, and the second to the half of the produce after the deduction of the seed. The best and most fruitful lands were often oppressed by this tax, which operated as a great impediment to cultivation; but it probably took place only on estates that were farmed more immediately for the benefit of the king.

Devel, are gardens and lands in the villages, which, being reserved on account of the king, were left for the use of the officers or magistrates of the village, and to defray the expenses which they might incur.

Madaspo, is a tax of little value, which the village chiefs paid annually to the crown, not amounting to more than six Dutch stivers for each village, and serving principally as an acknowledgment, to keep alive the recollection that the lands were derived from the king.

Motette, are gardens and lands which the crown had not given away or alienated, but employed as a fund of favour or reward. These lands were gratuitously cultivated by the villagers, and exempted from taxes.

Moralès, is a mortuary belonging to the king, which amounted to one-third part of the moveables of the deceased.

CHAP. LVII.

List of Singalese Sovereigns, from the earliest Period to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century.

VIGEA Raja, who appears to have been descended from a Siamese chief, is commonly reputed the first king, or emperor of Ceylon. His daughter, who is fabled to have been carried off by a lion, had a son and daughter.

The Prince Singa Bahu Comara, and the Princess Singa Valli Comara, whose marriage is said to have been productive of thirty-two sons, of whom the eldest, Vigea Comara, mounted the throne. The commencement of the reign of Vigea Comara is placed in the year of our era 106; but if, according to this account, he were the great grandson of Vigea Raja, the first reputed sovereign of the island, the arrival of the latter prince must have been long posterior to the date which I see assigned to it by a gentleman who is said to be eminently learned in the Singalese literature and language. In the account of the Singalese casts which Mr. Tolfrey gave to Lord Valentia,* he says—" Vigea Raja arrived in Ceylon in the fifty-sixth year of the era of the last Boudhou, that is 2290 years ago; the present (meaning 1804) being the year of Boudhou, 2346." Without attempting to clear the way, where so little

* It is printed at the end of the first volume of his lordship's Travels. There appears to be a great chasm in the list of sovereigns between Vigea Raja and Vigea Comara. I have numbered them from the last.

light is afforded, through this labyrinth of chronological difficulties, I shall content myself with exhibiting the succession of Singalese sovereigns with the length of their reigns, as it appears in Valentyn, whose authority has been principally followed in the preceding history.

	Reigned. Years.	M.	D.	Anno	to Anno
1. Vigea Comara, or as he is named by others Vigea Bahu Comara	30	0	0	106	136
2. Tissanaon Ameti - - - - - -	1	0	0	136	137
3. Simit Comara - - - - - -	22	0	0	137	159
4. Pandoe Vassaja - - - - - -	13	0	0	159	172
(Others extend his reign to 30 years.)					
5. Abeia Comara - - - - - -	20	0	0	172	192
6. Saguganatissa - - - - - -	17	0	0	192	209
7. Digagamunu - - - - - -	37	0	0	209	246
8. Pandu Cabaja - - - - - -	33	0	0	246	279
9. Mutta, or Motta Singa Raja - - - -	60	0	0	279	339
10. Deveni Petissa Maha Raja - - - -	40	0	0	339	379
11. Suratissanum - - - - - -	11	0	0	379	389
12. Two adventurers from Malabar - - - -	22	0	0	389	411
13. Assalanam Raja - - - - - -	14	0	0	411	425
14. Etalunam, or Etalanam Raja - - - -	44	10	10	425	469
15. Jattalatissa Guelinitissa Raja - - - -	20	0	0	469	489
16. Goloeumbera, or Ambera Raja - - - -	10	0	0	489	499
17. Ganatissa Raja - - - - - -	4	0	0	499	503
18. Kingdom still governed in his name - - -	30	0	0	503	533
19. Dutugenunu Maha Raja - - - - -	24	0	0	533	557
20. Sedetissa Raja - - - - - -	18	0	0	557	575
21. Tullenam Raja - - - - - -	1	9	10	575	577
22. Lemenetissa Raja - - - - - -	39	8½	0	577	617
23. Caluman Raja - - - - - -	16	0	0	617	633
24 Walagam Bahu Raja - - - -	0	8	0	633	634
25. Five Malabar princes - - - - -	36	0	0	634	670
26. Valla Gambu or Vallagam Bahu Raja - - -	12	5	0	670	683
27. Choranga Raja - - - - - -	26	0	0	683	709
28. Bemmenitissa - - - - - -	12	0	0	709	721
29. Maha Delia Deliatissa - - - - -	14	0	0	721	735
30. Chorawa Raja - - - - - -	12	0	0	735	747
31. Cudda Tissa Raja - - - - -	3	0	0	747	750
32. Anularan Bissava - - - - - -	1	0	0	750	751
33. Culavaon - - - - - -	1	1	0	751	753.

	Reigned. Years.	M.	D.	Anno	to Anno
34. Tomo	0	4	0	753	753
35. Malulan Tissa	26	0	0	753	779
36. Batian, or Batta Raja	28	0	0	779	807
37. Madilimanna Raja	12	0	0	807	819
38. Adague Muvene, or Munu Raja	9	8	0	819	829
39. Cada Ambera Raja	6	0	0	829	835
40. Nalabissava	6	0	0	835	841
41. Elunna, or Clunna Raja	6	0	0	841	847
42. Sanda Muhunu, or Sandamu Hunu Raja	6	0	0	847	853
43. Asnapa Raja	41	0	0	853	894
44. Vacnelisanam Raja	3	0	0	894	897
45. Bapa Raja	12	0	0	897	909
46. Gajá Bahu	22	0	0	909	931
47. Mana, or Maria Raja	16	0	0	931	947
48. Hama Tissa Raja	26	0	0	947	973
49. Cuda Raja	31	0	0	973	1004
50. Veni Tissa Raja	22	0	0	1004	1026
51. Ambaheraman Raja	6	0	0	1026	1032
52. Sirina, or Suina Raja	2	0	0	1032	1034
53. Vierdu, or Vejemdu Raja	6	0	0	1034	1040
54. Sanga Tissa Raja	11	0	0	1040	1051
55. Siri, or Suisanga Bodi Raja	22	0	0	1051	1073
56. Leminie Golu Amba Raja	13	0	0	1073	1086
57. Guwelaguwem, or Quelaguwem Dettatissa	10	0	0	1086	1096
58. Malasen, or Mahason Raja	24	0	0	1096	1120
59. Quitissiriamenaon Raja	28	0	0	1120	1148
60. Deva Tissa Raja	9	0	0	1148	1157
61. Rajas Raja	31	0	0	1157	1188
62. Utapissa Maram Raja	26	0	0	1188	1220
63. Senam Raja	6	1	0	1220	1227
64. Lemini Tissa Raja	6	0	0	1227	1233
65. Visenam Caralsoo Raja	6	0	0	1233	1239
66. Seven Malabar princes	27	0	0	1239	1266
67. Dacem Gulia Raja	18	0	0	1266	1284
68. Comara Dahai Raja	29	0	0	1284	1313
69. Lemini Patissa Raja	1	0	0	1313	1314
70. Amlam Heranam Raja	13	0	0	1314	1327
71. Dajulsen Raja	0	6	0	1327	1327
72. Dalam Agali Raja	20	0	0	1327	1347

	Reigned Years.	M.	D.	Anno	to Anno
73. Cadda Ginitsirmenam Raja - - - -	31	0	0	1347	1378
74. Semini Raja - - - - - -	3	0	0	1378	1381
75. Melisinganam Salandana Raja - - - -	9	0	0	1381	1390
76. Acbora Raja - - - - - -	6	0	0	1390	1396
77. Acboraja - - - - - - -	51	0	0	1396	1447
78. Dos Raja - - - - - -	6	0	0	1447	1453
79. Rucculei Praccaram Bahu Raja - - -	55	0	0	1453	1508
80. Jaga Vira Praccaram Bahu - - - -	7	0	0	1508	1515
81. Maha Pandita Praccaram Bahu Raja - - -	1	0	0	1515	1516
82. Vira Praccaram Bahu - - - - -	20	0	0	1516	1536
83. Darma Praccaram Bahu - - - -	25	0	0	1536	1561
84. Viga Bahu - - - - - -	8	0	0	1561	1569
85. Bowaneca Bahu Mahu Raja - - - -	11	0	0	1569	1580
86. Darma Palla Raja - - - - -	10	0	0	1580	1590
87. Don Philippo - - - - - -	very short time				1590
88. Raja Singa Raja - - - - -	3	0	0	1590	1593
89. Fimata Darma Suria, or Don John - - -	11	0	0	1593	1604
90. Cenuwieraat - - - - - -	28	0	0	1604	1632
91. Raja Singa Raja - - - - -	65	0	0	1632	1687
92. Fimala Darma Suria Maha Raja - - -	20	0	0	1687	1707
93. Wira Praccaram Narendra Singa - - -	—	-	-	1707	——

THE END.

J. F. Dove, Printer, St. John's Square.